

THE INDIAN WORLD

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. X]

OCTOBER—1909

[No. 55

DIARY FOR SEPTEMBER, 1909

Date

1. A slight shock of earthquake was recorded this morning at Simla. H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi issues a notification calling upon his people to abstain from joining any seditious movement.

Eight thousand employes of the Greaves Cotton Mills strike work to-day and the authorities decide to close the mills from to-day and to pay off the workmen on the 10th of every month.

The Bengal Government in its annual report on the administration of the Police declares that there has been an outbreak of political crime of a very serious character and that the Police have had to contend with the greatest difficulty owing to the reluctance of the public to co-operate with them in the detection of crimes.

2. K. D. Bhosekai, a student of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay, is charged at the Criminal Sessions before Mr. Justice Beaman and a common jury, with having in his possession explosive substances.

The "Non-caste Dravidian Mahajana Sabha" of Madras forwards a memorial to the Governor praying for separate communal representation in the reformed Council.

3. A press *communiqué* issued today reports an attack upon the village of Wali near the border of the Bannu District in the frontier.

Bringing by sea or land into British India the Magazine *Swaraj*, or the *Indian Nationalist* is prohibited by a Government notification issued today.

At a meeting of the Lahore Ladies' Anjuman-Hamī Urdu held today resolutions devising ways and means to improve the *Urdu* language are passed.

Returns published today show net imports into India in July of 90 lakhs of gold and 277 lakhs of silver. 30 lakhs of dollars were struck off in the Indian mints in July for the Straits Settlement and Hong-Kong, but no rupees were coined.

A statement published today of the position of the Gold Standard Reserve during the $\frac{1}{2}$ year ending on 30th of June shows that out of a balance of 18 millions sterling at credit, 10 millions is invested in sterling securities, $\frac{3}{4}$ million is in gold in England and $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions in rupees in India.

4. The 85th birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is celebrated in various parts of India.

5. The Bengal Provincial Conference meet at Iughly under the presidency of Mr. Baikuntha Nath Sen.

The Mahomedans of Allahabad form a Muslim League with the object of organizing local Muslim opinion for political purposes.

6. Lord Kitchener leaves Simla today for his final departure from India.

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7. At a meeting of the United Provinces Moslem League, Mr. Sayed Wazir Hasan proposes some resolutions relating to the adequate and effective representation of Musalmans in the Councils, and states that in case the Government fails to redeem the pledges the community would indicate its protest by holding aloof from the mixed electorates.

Considerable excitement is reported to have been caused in the Christian town of Kottayam, in North Travancore, owing to the C.M.S. Missionaries having determined to give equal treatment socially to the *Pulaya* (low-caste) converts to Christianity.

In the course of an informing discourse at Calcutta, Prof. Tomory shows by statistics an all-round increase of 50 p.c. in prices of all commodities including house rents, food and wages in Calcutta.

8. A meeting is held in Bombay under the presidency of Sir Bhalchandra Krishna for the re-organization of the Indian Medical Service with the object of manning it with Indian graduates of proved merit and capacity.

9. The Karauli Durbar issues a Proclamation warning all subjects of the State against the dissemination of sedition either in speech or in writing.

10. His Excellency Lord Kitchener sends a farewell message to the Indian Army.

General Sir O'Moore Creagh, the new Commander-in-Chief, lands this morning at the Apollo Bundar, Bombay.

The Indian Museum Bill is introduced today into the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Harvey.

The Punjab Government in its annual report on the administration of the Police declares an increase of crime due to a general spirit of lawlessness.

11. Mrs. Palmer, wife of the General Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Empire League, at a meeting of the Eurasians at Allahabad, urges them to federate for their well-being, objects to the term "Eurasian," refers to the formation in the Central Provinces of an Anglo-Indian Settlement to be called "Anglo-India" and speaks of "National Anglo-Indian Army" and other schemes for the social improvement of the community.

Mr. B. G. Tilak is brought back from Meitila Jail to Mandalay under a strong Police guard.

12. General Sir O'Moore Creagh arrives at Simla.

A largely-attended meeting of the Hindus and Mahomedans of Patna, held under the presidency of Mr. Hasan Iinam, Bar-at-Law, protest against the proposal to remove out of India the recently discovered relics of Buddha.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Moslem League held at Aligarh the Mahomedans re-iterate their demands for separate representation in excess of their numerical proportion in view of their "political importance" and protest against the humiliating treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal.

13. The Gaekwar, presiding at the celebration of prizes in the Baroda College, urges educated Indians to take to trade and industry and points to Self-Government as being the best form of Government for a country.

"The Rangoon Indian Chamber of Commerce" is organised today at a meeting of the Indian Merchants of Rangoon.

Mr. Saubhu Ganesh Gadgil, pleader of Nagpur, is sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 under Section 124A. for publishing an article in the *Desh Sewak* holding up to contempt certain gentlemen for accepting titles conferred by the Government. The Magistrate considers himself incompetent to take away the Pleader's Sanad.

15 deaths are reported from a serious landship at Kasauli.

14. Brajaballav Das, of the Naraingunge High School in E.B. and A., is arrested in connection with the receipt by mail, from Hamburg, of a parcel containing two revolvers.

A public meeting held at Bombay under the presidency of Sir

DIARY

Currimbhoy Ibrahim appeal once again to His Majesty's Ministers and the British Parliament to do all in their power to prevent "the continued injustice and ill-treatment of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the Transvaal."

16. The Police arrest two cultivators in Bashahr State in connection with the shooting of Mr. Gibson, the forest officer, one of whom is reported to have confessed to having committed the crime.

A class for teaching Sanskrit and Hindi to Mahomedans is reported to have been opened at the Dar-ul-lum of the Nadwa-ul-ulama at Lucknow.

18. The *Bande Mataram* reappears in a new form in Geneva containing bitter attacks on Messrs. Banerjea, Gokhale and other prominent Indian leaders.

Mr. Lalmonhun Ghose, a distinguished orator and an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, dies at his Calcutta residence today in his 59th year.

20. At a meeting of the Congress Reception Committee at Lahore, with Mr. Harkissen Lal in the chair, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta is elected President of the next Congress.

21. The Administration Report of the Bombay Port Trust for the past year is issued today, showing that the receipts are less by Rs. 2,37,256 than in the previous year.

In the Report of the Board of Revenue on the Administration of the Salt Department in E. B. and Assam during the year 1908—1909, the importations and clearances show a decrease of 632,106 maunds and 48,423 maunds respectively, as compared with the previous year.

22. The Railway Conference which continues its sitting at Simla discusses the subject of the protection of passengers from train thieves and in this connection two interesting inventions are exhibited.

The Begum of Bhopal is pleased to sanction a permanent annual grant of Rs. 2,200 for the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference.

24. The workmen of the spinning mills at Choolai, Madras, numbering over 800, go out on strike this morning.

It is announced that five posts of the rank of District and Sessions Judge shall henceforward be thrown open to members of the Provincial Civil Service in the United Provinces.

Messrs. Virumal Begraj, editor of the *Sindhee*, and Chotumal, Proprietor, "Swadeshi Stores," Sukkur, Sind, are arrested under 124A. at Karachi for printing and publishing pamphlets purported to have been written by Mr. Tilak and alleged to be seditious.

25. Mr. Gardhonlal Kalachand is arrested at Karachi under sec. 124A, I. P. C. for translating Mr. Tilak's Swadeshi writings.

The report of the Treasury Committee on the organization of the Oriental Studies in London, published today, suggests the establishment of a school managed by delegates under the supreme control of the Senate of the University of London and urges the revision of Indian Civil Service Regulations, a year's probation in England being considered inadequate to acquire the languages required.

An extraordinary magnetic storm extending from America and Europe lasting nearly for two hours severely affects the telegraphic wires from Bombay to Calcutta, rendering all work impossible.

27. A crowded meeting is held at Poona under the presidency of Dr. Bhandarkar to protest against the treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal.

The anniversary of the death of Raja Ram Mohan Ray is celebrated at Bombay, Lucknow, Calcutta and various parts of United Bengal.

A very important discussion takes place in the House of Lords on the organization of oriental studies in London, Lord Morley intimating the Government's full sympathy with the object and with most of the details of the Committee's recommendations.

28. Mr. Deshpande, a Magistrate at Mahad in U. P., issues a noti-

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fication under sec. 42 of the District Police Act, prohibiting cries in public of *Jais* of Sivaji, Tilak, Paranjpaye, Pal, Lajpat Rai and the distribution of photographs of these and also the shouts of "Bandematuram."

A photograph of Mr. Tilak is removed from the Pleaders' room at Oomraoty by the order of the District Judge.

It is announced that the British Post offices in the French territory in India, will now be included in the Imperial Postal Scheme.

The *Hilabadi* office is raided and the Printer arrested by the Calcutta Police for the alleged publication of some seditious articles.

29. An Agricultural Conference is held at Poona under the auspices of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Governor of Bombay.

Mr. Polak of South Africa addresses a ladies' gathering at Poona and tells them about the sorry plight of the Indian women in the Transvaal. The ladies resolve to send a message of sympathy and appreciation of courage to their sisters in the Transvaal.

30. Sir Corimbhoy Ebrahim, KT., President of the *Anjuman-i-Islam*, Bombay, sends a telegram to the Viceroy praying that the Transvaal authorities be wired to allow facilities for observance of all religious duties during the holy month of Ramzan to Mahomedan prisoners in the Transvaal Jails.

As a result of the panic caused by a severe out-break of Plague in Nagpore, about two thirds of the population fly away from the city.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Anti-Plague Measures in Mandalay

Free ventilation and brick flooring are being insisted upon by the authorities in Mandalay, for mills and large buildings, as anti-plague measures.

Well-ventilated Houses for Menials

In the Punjab it is officially recommended that the houses of menials should be constructed in such a way as to be sanitary models of well-ventilated houses.

Prejudices Die Hard

In connection with the proposed Bengal-North-Western railway bridge over the Ganges, near Allahabad, the prawals, Brahmin priests and other Hindu inhabitants of Allahabad have memorialised Sir John Hewett against the location of the bridge between Ramghat and Triveni over the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

The Bela or the low land

The Punjab Government have decided to deal with the bela or low land lying below the fort and public offices at Delhi. It is to be cleared of rank jungle, drained of stagnant water, and put under cultivation. As the bela has always been a danger to the public health and a prolific source of fever, these sanitary measures will be welcomed in Delhi.

A Great Magnetic Storm

The extraordinary magnetic storm reported in Europe and America extended also to India. It began at seventeen hours ten minutes (5-10 P. M., standard time) on the 25th instant and lasted until nineteen-forty (7-40 P. M.), and then stopped but was resumed at twenty hour thirty minutes (8-30 P. M.) and continued four on Sunday morning. Telegraphic communication from both Madras and Calcutta with Bombay was totally interrupted during part of the time the storm lasted, all wires running east and west being affected. The force of the earth currents varied from twenty milli-amperes negative to forty positive.

Urban and Rural Societies in India

On the 30th June, 1908, there were seven Central, 149 Urban, and 120 Rural, Societies in all India counting in all no less than 148,928 members. The amount of capital employed was Rs. 44,07026. The capital of the Central banks was Rs. 2,32,000 and that of the Urban Rs. 20,09,000, while the remainder was in the hands of Rural Societies. Madras has one Central bank, the United Provinces two, and the Central Provinces four. Of the Urban Societies Madras claims 23, Bombay 46, Bengal 19, the United Provinces 19, the Punjab 5, Burma 9, Eastern Bengal and Assam 21, and the Central Provinces 7. The distribution of the Rurals is as follows:—77 Madras, 99 Bombay, 331 Bengal, 166 the United Provinces, 253 the Punjab, 72 Burma, 114 Eastern Bengal and Assam, 69 the Central Provinces, 12 Coorg, and 8 Ajmer.

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Malaria in India

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India has proposed the formation of a permanent organization to inquire systematically into the problems, both practical and scientific, connected with malaria in India. The number of deaths ascribed to fever throughout India approximates to $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions annually, and though no exact figures are available, it is estimated that the death rate from malarial fever alone is 5 per mille, or a total of 1,130,000 annually. A Government resolution on the subject remarks that the statistics indicate an amount of sickness from this cause, much of it preventible, which clearly calls for the best efforts that the State can make to diminish it. The Governor-General in Council has decided to convene a conference to examine the whole question, and to draw up a plan of campaign for the consideration of the Government of India and the local Governments.

The Indian Exchange

The Indian exchange position has once again become abnormal but not under similar conditions as produced the currency crisis in 1908. Heavy remittances having been made to India since the beginning of the financial year, the banks out here are full of money and as this is the quiet season there is so little demand that the India Council have difficulty in selling their bills. Exchange has consequently been weakening, and the Government of India have evidently thought it wise to step in again to support the 16d rupee. The other day they invited tenders for £500,000 of sterling bills upon London, which they offered, we understand, at 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., a better price, doubtless, than merchants could have obtained from the banks, and they sold £70,000. This is the first sale of sterling bills upon London made by the Government since August 13 last year, and it is not expected nor is it hoped, that there will be such large sales as were necessary last year.

Indian Sanitation

A Blue-book has recently been issued containing a report on the sanitary measure taken in India during the year 1907. It deals with the health of European and Native troops, of prisoners in jails, and of the general population; also with vaccination, medical institutions, including hospitals, dispensaries, and medical schools, with lunatic asylums, and with sanitation. Apart from the prevalence of plague, which scarcely affects the statistics of troops, the year 1907 was not an unhealthy one for the general population of the country. Among European troops the rates of admission to hospital of constantly sick, of mortality, and of invaliding were all much lower than those of the previous year, and of the antecedent quinquennium; the first three rates were, indeed, the lowest ever recorded among the European Army in India. The health of Native Army was also good, the constantly sick, invaliding, and death rates being the lowest on record. Ague ranked first in the list of causes of admission to hospital. In India, as a whole, the months of September and October were the most malarious. The admission rate from intermittent fever fell from 176 per 1,000 in 1906 to 152, and the death-rate from '23 to '13. The treatment, and especially the "after treatment," of patients suffering from

NOTES & NEWS

malaria is now carried out much more thoroughly than formerly ; treatment by intra-muscular injections of quinine is adopted for severe cases in a number of stations, and in nearly all stations the after-treatment of patients is continued for at least six weeks after their discharge from hospital. This practice has reduced considerably the number of re-admissions on account of relapses, and has therefore been an important factor in reducing the admission rate.

Schools of Art in India

An interesting address on "The Foundations of Schools of Art in India" was given by Mr. Cecil L. Burns, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section) held during the past session. In considering the functions of schools of art in India, and suggesting some broad lines upon which they might successfully cope with the peculiar problems they were intended to solve, Mr. Burns said that his remarks would be limited to the relation of these functions to the applied arts of that country. This limitation coincided with the declared purpose of Government in founding the schools, namely, "to preserve from decay and to improve the crafts of India." The decadence in the ancient crafts had, he believed, been brought about mainly by the revolutionary changes in the conditions under which they were now carried on as compared with those prevailing up to the period between 1857 and 1870, when the schools of art were first instituted. Up to the year 1850 India, from an artistic standpoint, was almost entirely isolated from the rest of the world. She was, infact, more isolated during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries than during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the Moghul emperors were carrying out their great building schemes, and when the splendour of their courts attracted, in addition to the huge armies of foreign as well as native workmen employed, an almost equal number of other craftsmen, chiefly goldsmiths, carvers, and brocade weavers. It was the introduction of new ideas by foreign craftsmen, allied to the special aptitude for particular craft work on the part of the Indian workmen, due to the caste system, which resulted in producing the best schools of art India had yet seen, and the golden age of Indian artistic work. The wars and resultant social disturbance accompanying the decline of the Moghul rule changed everything. The great works of a former age were stopped, and the army of foreign and native craftsmen was disbanded ; but the freedom of the Indian craftsmen from foreign competition and the isolation of towns and villages give the workers a practical monopoly in the local markets ; becoming without ambition the workmen stagnated, and the handi-craft work of India, which formerly possessed a distinctive character deteriorated in quality, as, despite its failings, it still provided a living to the craftsmen, whose needs were of the fewest. While this process of decadence was going on, Europeans of cultivated taste and learning (mostly in the East India Company's services), who had carefully studied the ancient religions, archaeology, and art of the country, and had become fired with enthusiasm for the beauty and distinctive character of the buildings and craftwork of a former period, determined to take steps to arrest the prevailing decay ; a purpose in which they were strengthened by practical Indian business men, who, having studied the superior mechanical quality of

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European craftwork, recognised the necessity of adopting improved methods on the part of the craftsmen of India, if they were to retain their position in their own markets, which were beginning to be invaded from the West. Thus it was that, about the middle of the last century, thanks to the advocacy of eminent servants of the Company and the munificent initiative of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhai, schools of art on a very modest scale were started in Madras and Bombay. In dealing with the more important question of what the future policy and function of the schools should be, Mr. Burns said that during the nine years in which he had studied the subject on the spot, he had slowly and unwillingly been led to the conclusion that, although the artistic capacity of the people of India was present, the ancient craftwork of India was as dead as the art of the Greeks or as that of the Renaissance in Europe. Like the magnificent works of the Greek and Renaissance artists, those of ancient and mediæval India must always serve as types and examples full of inspiration to students. Progress, however, could no more be achieved by limiting the art workers of India of to-day to the servile copying of those masterpieces, than it could have been if the artists and designers of Europe had been only allowed to reproduce the masterpieces of Greece or Italy. On the contrary, the copying of the old designs had been the cause of the mental atrophy which distinguished modern Indian craftwork from that of the Moghuls, and he felt convinced, the lecturer said, that the artistic regeneration as well as the economic salvation of the craftsmen of India would never be brought about until they followed the example of their *confreres* in Europe. They should regard the great works of the past as inspiring standards of taste and achievement, but must cease to sponge upon their ancestors for artistic ideas, and must be trained instead to apply the principles upon which their ancestors built up their designs to the inexhaustible storehouse which nature offered to the designer in India. For the last hundred and fifty years Indian art had decayed because the craftsmen were content to let their ancestors to their thinking for them, and progress could only be achieved by encouraging them once more to think for themselves and by teaching them how to embody their thoughts in their work. The work of the past we all so much admired was produced by men who were not content to copy the work of those who preceded them, and it was the outcome of the conditions of the time in which they lived. These conditions had now entirely changed, and could never be brought back again, but so long as nature in India offered combinations of form and colour not found in Europe, and so long as the Indian designer imbued those forms with the mental characteristics which separated his art in the past from that of the rest of the world, there could be no danger of Indian art disappearing or of it being dominated as it now was by the art of the West.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Fish Curing by Smoking

The Bengal Government has ascertained that fish curing by smoking is the most successful process and an industry may be developed on this line.

Indians in British and Foreign Colonies

In the annual report on emigration from the port of Calcutta some interesting figures are given as to the resident Indian population in British and foreign Colonies. The figures are only tabulated up to the end of 1907, but they may be taken as illustrating present conditions. There was at that time just under 668,000 Indians living in the Colonies, of whom nearly 264,000 were in Mauritius, 133,000 in Demerara, and about 100,000 in Trinidad and Natal respectively. The savings of these people amounted to the large sum of £1,890,000. Mauritius, as being nearest to India, and requiring labour for sugar-cultivation, is the most popular place ; and the resident Indian population there has accumulated £1,295,600. This leaves less than £600,000 for the other six Colonies that are enumerated. Taking the savings per head, Jamaica, with only 13,800 Indians, ranks next to Mauritius in the returns, the average savings being £4. 14s. 8d. Natal, with 102,800, shows the low return of £1. 1s. 2d., but this does not imply that Indians in that Colony are not prosperous. On the contrary, they remit by money order to India some ten lakhs of rupees annually, and in some years considerably more. They prefer this course, apparently, to keeping the money with them.

The Oil-Fields of Burma

The oil-fields of Burma have been worked continuously from the middle of the eighteenth century, but it is only during the last twenty years that the oil industry in that part of the world has been handled with modern plant and put upon a business footing. Before 1889 oil recovery was carried on periodically by the native oil diggers, and it is so carried on down to the present day. The most prolific oil-bearing tracts in Burma lie in the valley of the Irrawaddy, Upper Burma, and all through this zone a considerable quantity of oil is still being obtained from wells dug by native labour, although the regular output now obtained is from wells that have been properly drilled with modern machinery, and a system of pipe-lines has been installed. Some of the native hereditary oil-reserves are still of considerable importance, but as they are in most cases worked in a very primitive manner, the output of oil is very small when compared with that of the English firms. The output obtained from the Burma oilfields to-day is all disposed of either in the country itself or in the various provinces of India, although at different times a considerable amount of the oil obtained was exported to the Far East ; but as a rule the oil dealers confine themselves to the Indian markets. There is one important feature about the oil production in Burma, and that is, the Government take all necessary care to see that the industry is kept entirely in the hands of British firms, and it is generally understood that none but British subjects are allowed to operate in the Burma oilfields as the direct lessees or proprietors of the land. There is room for a great deal of further exploitation for oil in Burma, and no doubt with the search that is now being made for a supply of oil from the Colonies, there is a good future in store for Burma oil.

Precious Stones of India

An American Consular Agent at Calcutta furnishes an interesting report concerning the precious stones of India. He states that

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the precious and semi-precious stones mined in India are the diamond, ruby, sapphire, spinel, tourmaline, garnet, rock crystal, and various chalcedonic forms of silica, jadeite, and amber. The ruby and jadeite are the only stones produced in India of considerable value. Large quantities of turquoise come from Sikkim and Tibet, that from the latter country being harder and of darker blue, which gives it greater value. The importation of precious stones into India amounts to about £1,000,000 worth annually. The diamond industry is very limited, and is carried on in Southern India, the northern part of the Indian Peninsula, and in the Central Provinces. Ruby mining is carried on in Upper Burma, and, next to petroleum, is the most profitable of the mineral resources of the State, the value of the product being about £100,000 annually. One ruby of 77 carats, taken out a few years ago, was valued at about £25000. Sapphires used to be mined in Kashmir, but the mines are now said to be exhausted. The yellow, white, blue, and green varieties of sapphire are found in the ruby bearing gravels in Burma. The spinel is found in considerable quantities in Burma. Beryls, found to some extent, are generally so fissured as to be of little value. Tourmaline (rubellite) stones of blue, green and black colouring are found in Upper Burma. Garnets are mined in Kishengarh, Jaipur State. Rock crystal cut for cheap jewellery known as vallam diamonds, is found in Tanjore, Madras Presidency ; but another quartz crystal found in Kalabagh is cheaper, and is used for making necklaces. Chalcedonic silica, known in India as hakik, and embracing many forms of agate, is mined in the Deccan. Agates and carnelians are cut and prepared for market at Cambay, Bombay Presidency. The agates come mostly from the State of Rajpipla. Large quantities are shipped to Europe and to China.

SELECTIONS

ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

The story of the slow, continuous, and inevitable growth of a few shore settlements founded by an English trading company into a great Oriental Empire is an interesting and important chapter in our national history, and the materials for a faithful account of it are ample and excellent. The trading factors left behind them in court books, factory diaries, consultations, and books of general correspondence a careful record of how the foundation stones of that Empire were laid. These letters, despatches, and journals, entered day by day, exhibit faithfully the impressions of the hour and enable us to understand the manner of men these early adventurers were, the life they led, the hardships and privations they endured, the dangers they surmounted. They were men of rough habits, hard livers, fond of pomp, but their gallant natures shine through all their infirmities and the vices of their age. They were merchant clerks, but their time was not entirely spent in appraising silks and muslins and copying invoices, for they had to fight the Dutch and the Portuguese, the Moguls, and the Mahrattas and they showed the same steadfast courage which enabled their countrymen to extend the bounds of our dominion from the sea coast to the base of the northern mountains.

To Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury belongs the credit of having first revealed to the serious student of history the interest and utility of the materials bequeathed to us by the pioneers of England's supremacy in the East. He began his great work soon after the senate of English merchants which had made an empire, and for a century had governed it with justice and equity, had ceased to exist. In 1862 was published the first volume of the "Calendar of State papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616." The papers calendared in the volume were derived from three great archives—the public Record Office, the British Museum and the India Office. The subjects more particularly illustrated, as Mr. Sainsbury stated in his preface, were

"the early voyages for discovery of a North-East or North-West passage ; the establishment of the East India Company ; the various successes of the early voyages to the East Indies; an account of

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the settling of the different factories, with the gradual development of the lasting influence of England in those distant countries ; the commencement of a commercial intercourse with Persia ; the first faint attempts at establishing a direct trade with China ; the opening of a communication with Japan through a series of adventures as romantic as the history of Robinson Crusoe."

'Thirty years later was published the fifth volume, which brought the history of the East India Company down to the close of the year 1634. Since Mr. Sainsbury's first volume appeared a vast amount of new material has been gathered. Fresh and remunerative explorations have been made among the archives in the different Record Office in India and the manuscripts in the India Office. Mr. A. T. Prengle, Mr. G. W. Forrest, and Mr. C. R. Wilson, by their volumes of reproductions of the documents in the Indian archives have thrown considerable light on the social life and history of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal in the olden days. In 1878 Sir George Birdwood, by his masterly and comprehensive "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," called attention to the importance of the vast body of historical documents which had so long lain neglected in that office. But nothing was done for some years. The first volume of the Court Minutes of the East India Company having been sent to the Public Record Office to be calendared fortunately attracted the notice of Mr. Henry Stevens, of Vermont U. S. A, and with the sanction of the India Office it was carefully transcribed, edited, and printed by him—and no work was ever edited with greater care and accuracy. Mr. Stevens intended to write an exhaustive introduction, but he was unfortunately prevented by failing health and the pressure of other work. He was chiefly interested in the work from the American point of view, and there is a great deal in the factory records which is of considerable interest to the student of the history of the infancy of the colonies in America. On September 25, 1600, "the Comittier or the most of them went to Wolwich, Deptford, and Reddereth to viewe the sev-
rall shippes," and among them was "the May Flowre." Mr. Stevens held a very decided opinion that the vessel referred to was undoubtedly the veritable Pilgrim ship. The Company's Mayflower was, however, of 280 or 300 tons, whereas the Pilgrim ship was of 180 tons. Sir George Birdwood furnished the volume with a preface valuable for illumination and inspiration. "The Dawn of British Trade" was followed by a volume entitled "The Register of Letters, &c., of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies" edited by Sir George Birdwood

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and Mr. W. Foster of the India Office. The text was a rigidly accurate copy of the MS., and the notes of Mr. Foster represented wide reading in both primary and derived sources.

In 1896 was published "Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East (1602-1613)". It was the first volume of a series meant to occupy ten volumes and to contain a narrative of events from 1603 to about 1619. The first two volumes of the series were edited by the late Mr. Frederick Charles Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, who first undertook the very complicated task of arranging the India Office Records in order and lightening the labour of the historical investigation by the publication of press lists. When Mr. Danvers ceased to be Superintendent of Records and Mr. William Foster became editor of the series he had to follow the plan adopted by his predecessors, which was on far too ambitious a scale, and on the issue of the sixth volume the publication of the series was abandoned. The present volumes, entitled "The English Factories in India", continue the narrative from the year 1618, but the method of work and the scope of operations have been altered. It has been wisely determined that the subjects illustrated should be confined to India. The mode of treatment adopted is a compromise between calendars and selections, and, like the majority of compromises, is open to objection. "All passages," the editor states, "which appeared to be of sufficient importance have been quoted in full; in other cases merely a summary has been given." It is impossible for any editor to discover what passages will prove of importance to the historian. Unlike the calendars published by the Record Office these volumes are furnished with notes explanatory of the text, for in documents dealing with the East there are a large number of names and terms which demand interpretation. Mr. Foster has shown extraordinary diligence both in the formation and illustration of his materials, but by omission of a certain amount of antiquarian and mercantile details he might have reduced his abstracts of the documents into narrower limits than those of three octavo volumes.

The Factory period may be said to extend from the trading made with the Governor of Surat in 1612 to Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757, when traders were succeeded by soldiers who expelled the French and crushed the Mahrattas and by statesmen who constructed the fabric of administration. The trading agreement was confirmed by an Imperial firman or decree. In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe, who was sent by James I as Ambassador to the Court of the Mogul, concluded a treaty with the Emperor's third son, to

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whom had been assigned the Government of Surat; a treaty by which the English gained the rights of building a house, bearing arms, exercising their own religion freely and settling their own disputes among themselves. Three years later the English had also established factories at Agra, Ahmadabad, Burnanpur (in Khandesh), and Broach. Agra was then not only the capital of the Mogul Emperor but a great centre of trade. The factors sold their broad-cloth and other commodities from England to the traders of Northern India and purchased indigo and calicoes for despatch to England. But the supply of carpet was not equal to the demand. It was therefore determined to send two factors to Lahore, "the chief place for that commodity," and Samana, in the Patiala State, where Samiana were woven. A note explains, what was long a mystery, that "Semianoes" was "a thin soft cloth of yellowish colour—the modern doria." Robert Hughes was at the same time sent from the Agra factory to "Pultana, the chief marte town of all Bengala," for "that by reporte it promised good store of callico clothinge, raw silks, etc., the commodities by Your Worships most desired." Hughes, on reaching Patna secured a house in the principal part of the city. This is the first time Englishmen got even a temporary footing in what is now called Bengal. As there was a fear that English goods were never likely to be in sufficient demand in India, attempts were made to establish a branch trade between Surat and the Red Sea and Surat and Persia. In 1616 a small body of factors was sent to Persia to procure privileges from the Shah and establish a trade in his dominions. The mission was well received by the Monarch. This aroused the jealousy of the Portuguese, who were the masters of the island fortress of Ormuz. Among the papers calendared in the first volume is "Richard Swan's account of the fights off Jask." It was printed by Purchas with some errors and omissions, but it is a good English story, well worth remembering. On November 19, 1620, the London and Roebuck, under the command of Captain Andrew Shiling, set sail from Swally, the port of Surat, towards Jask. Two days later they captured a Portuguese vessel from Muskat. On December 5 they met the Hart and Eagle about eighty leagues to the eastward of Jask. "Joyning together, they went rejoicing forwards to the enemye, the gennerall of whom was Rui Frere de Andrade, whom themselves called the Pride of Portugall." On December 16 they "found the Portugalls armado, consistinge of four shippes, two gallys and ten frigotts." The following day, "Sunday, 17th December they joyne battell and

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fought from nine in the morning till darke night. The Portugalles retyre ten or eleven miles from our shippes to repair themselves. The English "gott into Jasque Roade and discharged their monies and goodes," Rui Frere, however, soon again made his appearance and on December 28, "About nine of the clocke, the Lord sending us a prettie Easterlie gale our fleete weighed and put all things in order for fight," The London and Hart "anchored within a cable's length and half from them upon their broadsides, and so indured the hotest burden of this second daies fight." The Portuguese fought with their usual courage, but their guns were crushed by the superior strength of the English artillery. "About three of the clocke in the afternoone, unwilling after so hott a dinner to receive the like supper they cutte their cables and drove with the tide (then setting westerly) until they were without reach of our gunnes ; and their frigotts came to them and towed them awaie wonderfullie mangled and torn." Such was the great fight off Jask.

Among the papers calendared in the second volume (1622-23) the most important are those which relate to the capture of Ormuz by the English and the Persians in April, 1662. The factors at Batavia wrote to their masters—"To conclude, if you may have possession of Ormuz and will send meanes to maintayne itt, Your Worships may reckone thatt you have gotten the keys of all India which will be a brydell to our faithlesse neighbours the Dutch, and keep all moore in awe of us." It was, however, not the Dutch but the Portuguese who were our most formidable rivals. In the third volume (1624-29) we have accounts of the three fierce fights in the Persian Gulf between an Anglo-Dutch fleet and the squadron of the gallant Alvarez Botelho, who nailed to the gates of Surat Castle a chivalrous challenge inviting the English and Dutch to come out of Swally Hole and fight him ship for ship. There are various other important documents for the notice of which we should like to find room. But the quotations we have given are sufficient to show that these volumes may be read with interest and consulted with profit by the historical student. It is to be hoped that so important a work will be finished by Mr. Foster who has no motive beyond a love of research and has made a special study of this interesting and definite epoch in the history of our Indian Empire.—*The Times.*

BRITISH OVERSEA TRADE

OPENINGS IN INDIA

It is much to be desired that some competent authority would undertake the compilation of a manual which would indicate the many fields offering profitable employment to British capital in India, and set forth in some detail the markets in which foreign enterprise has anticipated or ousted British trade. India is one of the three best customers of the United Kingdom, and British goods form 66.8 per cent. of her imports, while British possessions contribute 7.3 per cent. But the remaining 25.9 per cent. represents goods from foreign countries, of which a considerable proportion could undoubtedly be supplied by British manufacturers, if they were willing to study the requirements of Indian customers.

There is no lack of commercial information of a sort. Many and varied returns are published year by year, ranging from the slim Blue-books in which the collectors of Customs in Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, and other ports describe the imports and exports of the past 12 months, often with illuminating comment, to the ponderous tomes which contain the "Annual Statement of the Seaborne Trade and Navigation of British India with the British Empire and Foreign Countries." One of the most useful of these compilations is the annual "Review of the Trade of India," prepared by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence. There is, however, no official publication which will serve as a guide to British trade or the employment of British capital. The writer does not pretend to supply the defect, but a few notes calling attention to some instructive facts may be of service.

IMPORTS OF COTTON GOODS

There are 14 classes of Indian imports, which in value exceed or approximate to £1,000,000. Cotton goods are, of course, the dominant class. The amount imported depends partly on the state of the Lancashire industry, but chiefly on the purchasing power of the Indian peasant, whose clothing and that of his family form the bulk of the imports. In 1907-8, when there was what the Director of Commercial Intelligence calls "a debauch in trading," cotton manufactures reached the abnormal total of £32,028,000. Owing to bad harvests and a general depression of trade the enormous stocks represented by this sum were not wholly absorbed, and in 1908-9 the total declined to £25,343,000. But, taking an average of the last five years, we get a total of £27,661,000, which gives a fair idea of the volume and value of this class of imports. Happily

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the United Kingdom has the lion's share of the trade in cotton manufactures.

THE COTTON HOSIERY TRADE

The only exceptions to a virtual monopoly are in coloured twist and yarn, in which the British proportion is 83.1 per cent., and (among fabrics) in handkerchiefs and shawls, of which the British share is about 81 per cent., and in hosiery. For some reason British manufacturers have surrendered the not inconsiderable cotton hosiery trade to foreign rivals. Taking the figures for 1907-8, it will be found that the imports from the United Kingdom were worth less than £26,000, while those from foreign countries were valued at nearly £404,000. The share of Japan alone advanced from £7,292 in 1902-3 to £255,949 in 1907-8. The figures proclaim their own moral, and they are the more remarkable since the United Kingdom has almost a monopoly of woollen hosiery.

COMPETITION IN IRON AND STEEL

The position of the United Kingdom in the iron and steel trade, which usually ranks second among Indian imports, has been undermined by foreign competition. Thus, of hardware and cutlery imported in 1908-9 to the value of £1,956,000, a third came from foreign countries. It is true that last year exports from Germany had a set back, but Belgium and Austria increased their share. Imports of Belgian iron angles, bolts, and rods exceeded those of British manufacture; and foreign countries between them hold two-thirds of this trade. Three-fourths of the trade in iron bars belongs to foreign countries; of plain sheets and plates the Belgian share is nearly twice that of Great Britain, while imports of Belgian steel bars are almost six times the value of those from the United Kingdom, having increased by £209,000 since 1906-7.

SUGAR IMPORTS

Sugar, another leading article of import, was bought by India in 1908-9 to the extent of £7,271,000. This enormous purchase constitutes one of the most ignominious failures of the apostles of *Swadeshi*, who have set themselves strongly against the use of foreign sugar, while the existence of such a demand suggests that British capital and energy might well be employed in placing the Indian sugar industry on a modern basis. Improved cultivation of the cane and more scientific manufacture are both required.

The other chief branches of the import trade are railway material, machinery and mill-work, mineral oil, woollen manufactures, provisions, apparel, silk manufactures, copper, spices, and glass. Of these, two call for a special comment from the point of view of

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foreign competition with British trade—namely, woollen manufactures and glassware.

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS AND GLASS

While the United Kingdom holds her own in the trade in carpets and rugs, Germany has made a substantial advance in piece goods, and has captured the trade in shawls. The British share of the piece goods trade amounts to £851,000, out of a total of £1,247,000, but imports from Germany have increased from £178,000 in 1906-7 to £273,000 in 1908-9. As for shawls, while the United Kingdom sends £12,600 worth, the German imports are valued at £329,000, having increased to this amount from £86,900 in 1906-7. The consignments of this year have, in the opinion of good judges, been excessive, and it is certain that a large proportion remains in importers' hands. But the fact must be recognized that simply by a careful study of native tastes and needs, Germany has acquired what is practically a monopoly of the shawl trade.

One of the most conspicuous examples of a branch of trade in which English manufacturers are content to play a very subordinate part, and in which no rivalry is as yet to be apprehended from *Swadeshi* competitors, is to be found in glass and glassware. All attempts to establish a glass industry in India have as yet proved failures, and the trade is, therefore, wholly foreign. Its total value in 1908-9 was nearly £780,000, and would have been larger but for the depressing conditions of the year. Of this total the British share was £127,000. This poor proportion was largely due to the fact that the trade in bangles and in beads and false pearls has been captured by Austria and Germany. In 1907-8 bangles were imported to the value of £370,000, nearly £270,000 being accounted for by Austrian imports. The imports of beads and false pearls were worth £170,000 ; even in a bad year like 1908-9 they were worth £155,000. Almost the whole trade belongs to our rivals ; only in common bottles does the United Kingdom maintain a leading share of the imports, supplying £32,000 worth out of a total of £42,000. It is surely possible for British ingenuity and enterprise to go into the bangle and bead making industries.

British success in establishing and keeping a trade in carpets shows what can be done. India is an ancient seat of the carpet industry, and exports carpets and rugs to the value of £163,000. But by dint of imitating the special features of the Oriental article English makers are able to sell largely in India, the value of British imports in 1907-8 being £54,000.

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CHANGES IN CUSTOM

Taking the Indian market as a whole, while it is inevitable that Indian mills should appropriate an increasing share of the cotton goods trade, partly owing to growing enterprise and partly as an outcome of the *Swadeshi* spirit, and while Continental competition is keen in the less-finished branches of the iron and steel trade, the outlook for British commerce is hopeful, and opportunities for new trades may constantly be expected to arise. The purchasing power of the people is increasing and the crippling effects of famine are diminishing. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the habits of the Indian people are gradually changing in many respects, and that these mutations in immemorial custom will prove highly profitable to those who are quick to avail themselves of the new conditions. It is impossible to anticipate at the present time what developments may occur even in a year or two. The market needs to be carefully watched, the experiments should be made from time to time. But a few examples may be given of the revolutionary innovations which have already begun and are spreading.

NOTABLE DEVELOPMENTS

Until recently no self-respecting Indian would be content with other than brass households utensils. But the high prices of copper and brass have led to the adoption of a substitute, with the result that the imports of enamelled ironware have become a considerable feature in the trade returns. In 1902-3 they were worth only £54,200 ; they expanded fairly steadily until in 1907-8 they touched £163,200, and, though there was a decline in 1908-9, the prosperity of the trade is assured. Unfortunately, the bulk of the imports came from Germany and Austria, their joint share in 1907-8 being 91·5 per cent. But there is room for competition, and the success with which Germany has ousted Austria suggests that British manufacturers can, by a study of Indian requirements, improve upon those of Germany.

Another far-reaching change is that kerosine lights are replacing the old metal lamps and vegetable illuminants. Lamp-ware was imported in 1907-8 to the value of £179,000, an increase of 14 per cent., on 1906-7, which in its turn showed an increase of 40 per cent. on the preceding year. The kerosine imported into Calcutta has risen from 20,398,000 gallons in 1906-7 to 33,658,000 gallons in 1908-9.

The growing taste for biscuits is a curious phenomenon. In spite of the existence of *Swadeshi* biscuit factories, which are thriving,

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the demand for the foreign variety is increasing. The imports have risen from 1,690,000lb., in 1902-3, with a value of £45,000, to 6,962,000lb. in 1908-9, with a value of £187,000. The great bulk of this expanding trade already belongs to British manufacturers.

MANUFACTURE OF SOAP

Foreign soap might have been expected to excite suspicion on religious grounds, as being likely to contain forbidden animal fats. But, though the manufacture of soap has attracted *Swadeshi* enterprise, imports show a remarkable expansion. Their value in 1903-4 was £177,000, and in 1908-9 over £271,000. The *Swadeshi* concerns devote themselves to the production of highly-scented and highly-coloured toilet soaps, for which there is a large and increasing demand. Some of the Indian makers are not scrupulous in the matter of adulteration, and for this and other reasons English manufacturers should have no difficulty in keeping and extending their hold of the market. According to the figures of 1907-8 the United Kingdom has a virtual monopoly of this trade, its share being then Rs. 37,46,000 out of a total value of Rs. 41,72000. But foreign imports have increased from less than 3 lakhs in 1903-4 to over 4 lakhs in 1907-8.

MOTOR-CARS AND CYCLES

A trade which will reward attention is the supply of motor-cars and cycles. No Rajah or wealthy Indian will be content until he has a motor-car, and the increasing popularity of motor vehicles among Europeans in a country where horses must be sparingly used in the hot weather will stimulate the imitative faculty of the Indian. The importations of motor-cars have risen from £234,000 in 1905-6 to £420,000 in 1907-8. Of the latter total the share of the United Kingdom was £353,000. Bicycles are also finding favour, as is natural in a country with level roads and a great lack of conveyances. The *babu* on his cheap bicycle is becoming a common sight. The importation of cycles has developed from £107,000 in 1905-6 to £147,000 in 1907-8. The United Kingdom controls this trade, the aggregate share of all foreign countries being only £6,200. A bicycle sold at the lowest possible price consistent with reasonable durability would probably find a great sale ; but it must be borne in mind that the Indian constituency consists of persons earning from £2 to £4 a month.

THE USE OF FOOTWEAR

A still poorer customer whose wants should not be neglected is

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the *ryot*. The profitable jute industry has raised the standard of comfort among the peasants of Eastern Bengal, who have consequently begun to wear shoes instead of going barefooted. The imports of boots and shoes into India in 1900-1 were 709,000 pairs ; in 1908-9 the number was 1,671,000 pairs ; and in 1907-8 the total rose to 1,873,992 pairs. The values rose from £126,000 in 1900-1 to £222,000 in 1908-9. The largest share of the trade falls to the United Kingdom. But, while British imports rose from £163,000 in 1903-4 to £210,000 in 1907-8, imports from foreign countries were more than doubled in this period. Austria in particular showing a striking advance, Austrian progress is mainly due to the demand for a cheaper class of goods, the existence of which is shown by the fact that the average price of boots and shoes fell from 3s. 9d. to 3s. 3d. That there is a market for very cheap footwear and that this market is sure to expand are facts that British manufacturers should keep in mind.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE UNREST IN INDIA

Rev. J. A. Sharrock who "shattered his nerves by an immoderate use of the taxed salt of India" for no less than 16 years as a teacher in a missionary college in South India has followed close upon the heels of Messrs. Fuller, Elliot, Duchesne and Abraham with an acrimonious article headed as above in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. The paper is full of calumnies and vilifications and unmitigated rancour from top to bottom, and we are constrained to say that had a similar arrogant and hateful spirit been displayed by an Indian or English Socialist or Labourite publicist either in England or in India the law of proscription under the Customs Act or Sec. 153 of the I. P. C. would not lose a moment to vindicate its authority.

The writer begins by pointing out the errors of the general run of critics of the present situation in India and unlike them he considers the political aspect of the present unrest in India as "but a small incident—a troublesome and even dangerous one, too,... but still only an incident almost unavoidable in a vast general awakening." "Disloyal Newspapers," the writer observes, "Congress bickerings, platform vapourings, and seditious pamphlets, to say nothing of open anarchy, have loomed so large as to exaggerate out of all due proportions the political part of the general upheaval."

Rev. Sharrock blames Lord Morley and those English politicians who "flatly refuse to look at India, or to desire to administer it, from the Oriental point of view" and observes: "the reason why a handful of Englishmen have succeeded in such a marvellous way in building up the Indian Empire, while other countries have so signally failed as colonial administrators, is almost entirely due to the fact that the English have tried hard to understand India and to adapt themselves as far as possible to Oriental methods."

"If ignorance is not only bliss, but also the highest form of wisdom, and if the methods that have found favour in London must necessarily be the best for Timbuktoo or Hyderabad, then, when the proverbial New Zealander is sketching the ruins of our modern Babylon, the mild Hindu may, by parity of reasoning, be

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forcing *sati* on our English widows and hook-swinging on the followers of 'General' Booth."

The writer then paints in a too lurid colour the chaos that existed in ancient India and deduces from it the theory of the total incompetence of the Indians for self-government :

"The past history of India has simply consisted of the clash of dynasty against dynasty, the butchery of usurper by usurper, and the overthrow of kingdom by kingdom. *Vae victis* was the only cry known on the battlefield as the last invader or usurper marched to conquest ; the royal place reeked with blood, and the cries of the murdered relatives of the last despot were drowned in the blare of the horn and the din of the tom-tom. This tragedy was generally followed by a deep sullen hush. Then when the new usurper had lapsed into a soft licentious luxury and the time was ripe, another usurper, crouching like a tiger in the jungle-grass, sprang on the unwary potentate, seized his throne, and repeated the same tale of butchery and bloodshed with all its ghastly, gory details."

Thus disposing of the claims of the Indians to self-government, the writer vehemently urges on the supreme necessity of England's making all preparations to keep India under her perpetual tutelage and devising ways and means to effectively deal with anarchy and sedition :

"Our slow and lax method of dealing with this state of affairs, till the recent Anarchy Bill was passed, was eminently Western ; it was eminently adapted to the Eastern love of intrigue and plotting ; it gave the maximum amount of trouble, the maximum scope for appeal, and the maximum opportunity of posing as a martyr, together with the minimum amount of deterring punishment. England has been shocked at the outburst of anarchy, but the student of Indian history need not be surprised."

Rev. Sharrock then draws a comparison between ancient and modern India and describes the attitude and temperament of the present generation in the following terms :

"To sum up the attitude of the past in a sentence : what we call god is everytting, and besides this impersonal, unconscious Essence there is absolutely nothing ; we and the whole world are but 'illusion', and not till we can divest ourselves of our ignorance can we gain 'deliverance' from an almost endless succession of weary rebirths like a candle blown out, or enter by 'absorption' into Nirvana as a drop of rain is swallowed up by the boundless sea." But refusing to admit the aspirations of young India the writer observes : "Every

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newspaper fills its columns with passionate cries for a greater share in the government of the country ; every platform orator declares in thunder tones that India must rival Japan in self-government and emancipated development ; every pamphleteer pleads for reform and the education of the masses ; every Congress demands *swaraj* and *swadesha* or some form of colonial government ; nay, every schoolboy appeals to the history of the past and imagines that his own vocation in life is to be a Sivaji and a Hampden rolled into one."

"Then, again," continues the writer, "Caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is caste. Everybody talks glibly of caste, and imagines that he knows all about it, but a lifetime spent in close contact with the people is only too short a period to grasp the enormity of the force and the subtlety of the sway that this word connotes. The Brahman has seized and reigned over the whole country from Himalayas to Kumari (Comorin) ; he has converted the million masses of Dravidians to accept, at least in name, Hinduism as their religion ; he has utterly routed and driven out the Buddhist and all other reformers ; he has held by the mere claim of a divine supremacy the followers of Islam, sword in hand, at arm's length ; he has carried the principle of *divide et impera* to a pitch that no Roman Emperor ever dreamed of—all this and more he has done by the power of caste and the consequent priesthood. Yet.....Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity are the watchwords of the modern Hindu."

For this revolution in ideas the writer holds the Hindus responsible and gracefully tells us that it is not the Government, the British officials, the English Press, the missionaries but the Hindus themselves who are " straining like dogs on the leash to revolutionise the whole country.the shaft of the axe that is felling the Hindu tree is a branch torn from that same tree." The writer of course strongly denounces the transformations going on in India and considers it as the pernicious effect of "pouring new wine into old wine-skins." The writer then finds fault with the educational policy of the Government of India and laments that the Government spends money "for the most part for one numerically small community and neglects the rest" and, in evidence of this, he mentions the fact that "five-sixths of the graduates turned out by the Madras University are Brahmins, while all the rest of the presidency—including Sudras, Muslims, and Christians together—produces only the remaining one-sixth." Rev. Sharrock condemns the system of secular education that prevails in India and observes :

"No country can possibly stand that does not believe in God

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in some form or other, some Supreme Spirit who sees what we do. To talk of morality, too, without God in the background is merely beating the air, or fashioning an engine but providing no motive power....Man is made up of body, mind, and soul, and most people will admit that the soul, even when looked at only from the political and ethical point of view, is of infinitely higher importance than the mind, as mind is higher than the body."

The writer, however, does not stop here but proceeds to remind us of Emperor Aurangezeb who "conquered the sacred city of Benares, razed to the ground fifteen hundred Hindu temples, and placed his own Muslim mosque on the highest mound to dominate the whole city." This vandalism, thinks Rev. Sharrock, is worthy of emulation by England, for he observes :

"If we, after the battle of Plassey, had destroyed every Hindu temple and Muhammadan mosque, and built and endowed Christian cathedrals and churches throughout the length and breadth of the land, everybody would at least have respected us for the right religious fervour that we had displayed."

The Rev. missionary further complains that the English have "elevated the Queen's Proclamation of religious neutrality into a fetish." The writer regrets bitterly that the Government grants *maniam* or rent-free lands and several other rich subsidies for the maintenance of Hindu temples while "Christianity is pushed aside into private life ; it must be hidden behind the domestic *Purdah*."

Having thus condemned the Government policy of religious neutrality and the consequent absence of any religious element in the Indian Educational System to which, according to the writer, is chiefly due the present unrest in India, Rev. Sharrock undertakes to diagnose, and prescribe remedies for, the same. He divides Indians into two classes viz., "a small educated minority who are, speaking broadly, disloyal, and a large uneducated majority who are, as a whole, loyal." "The ultimate aim of the minority," continues the writer, "avowedly or secretly at heart, is to gain full and absolute control of the administration of the country, though they would describe this as patriotism, not disloyalty; while the undoubted preference of the majority is for the maintenance of the British supremacy. To confuse the two, and to speak of the disaffection of the people of India as if they were one homogeneous whole, and as if the uneducated majority must necessarily follow the lead of the educated minority, is a fundamental mistake from which we must at once clear our minds. India is not the same as Ireland. The most powerful force in India is caste, and between the

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Brahmans, who constitute almost the whole of the educated class, and the uneducated Sudras and outcastes there is a great gulf fixed which nothing at present can bridge. Homogeneity is the last thing to look for in caste-ridden India."

No missionary can discuss such a situation without proposing some remedial measures, and Rev. Sharrock has his own to put forward. Reform or any conciliatory measure, the writer warns his fellow-countrymen to shun like poison for, according to him, it will induce a belief in the agitators "that their campaign of murder and open sedition has succeeded and will encourage them to proceed on with the same." He observes : "if we maintain it only in our own interests or for the glory of our empire, would it not be more dignified to retire at once instead of having these so-called reforms forced from us ? America loses nothing by being independent of our control. But if we are persuaded that India cannot stand alone, naked and unprotected, that the mass of the people are wholly unfit for self-government, and that we have a sacred duty to these voiceless millions who prefer our juster rule, then we must put our foot down and face the consequences."

Rev. Sharrock offers the following constructive programme to meet the present situation in India :—

" We must educate the great Sudra castes, and not only the Brahmans; we must cease to make a fetish out of a legitimate religious neutrality; we must do all that we can to abolish caste, in so far as it means magnifying a certain disloyal class into demi-gods and we must encourage those that are loyal—Muslims, Sudras, and Christians alike; and, above all, we must not be forced into weak concessions to those who only look upon each of these concessions as a stepping-stone to the ultimate expulsion of the English from the land."

In concluding this tirade against educated India, Rev. Sharrock thinks that the salvation of India lies in the wholesale acceptance of Christianity and observes :—

" That India will ultimately become a Christian country will be not denied by those who compare its present state with that of the Roman Empire during the second century. Whether we look at the Greek philosophy and pride of citizenship, coupled with a contempt for the popular idolatry; the profession of regard for Christ, with the martyrdom of Christians and the sneers of Lucius, Celsus, and Porphyry at Christianity ; the conversion of masses of slaves, the diffusion of Christian ideals, and the revival of the old faith in the dress of Neo-Platonism, we find the exact counterpart under each

of these heads in modern India. The day is not yet in sight, but it cannot long be delayed, when the great scheme of India's redemption shall have been worked out, when India shall take her own place as a mighty nation,—free, enlightened, self-contained, and united ; and all our policy should be so shaped as ever to keep that end in view, and also fashioned on such progressive lines as to be daily advancing towards its perfect attainment."

What an illusion to cherish !

HINDUISM AND UNREST IN INDIA

Mr. F. H. Barrow, late of the Bengal Civil Service, contributes an informing article on the above subject to the September number of the *Empire Review*. As a brief sketch of the leading ideas of Hinduism and a discussion of the relation between philosophic and ceremonial Hinduism, and coming, as it does, from a foreigner, the article is remarkable and bespeaks on the part of the writer width of views and a sincere attempt of discerning things in its true perspective. But as a study of the ætiology of the present situation with its pros and cons, the paper is not much worth perusal and do not show such catholicity of views as characterise the writer's opinions on religion. Mr. Barrow begins with the following description of Hinduism :—

"The main item of it is undoubtedly that everything is God, good and bad indifferently. The soul is the vital principle—and is therefore itself God or Brahma—which runs through nature; and it may inhabit any shape, whether it be that of a man, snake, demon, flower, etc. It is an emanation, not a creation. The complement of this pantheism is the belief in transmigration and *Karma*, the latter being inherited merit or demerit, earned in a former existence. These two beliefs go far to explain the peculiar Hindu temperament.

"The "ego" to the Hindus is a different thing from what it is to us. With them it is only the spirit or vital principle, while with us it includes memory, perception, recognition, conscience—all of which qualities are to them merely *Maya* or deception; and the sole object of their religion is to get rid of this deception, to realise the fact that "I and God are one"—*Aham Brahmasmi* "I am Brahma." The deepest Indian philosophy is contained in the mystic sentence ; *Tatwam asi*, "That art thou." When this truth is realised, deliverance (*Mukti*—salvation) is obtained, and there is perfection. Shortly speaking then the whole creed is : (1) There is One, no other, nothing else. (2) Thou art that One. (3) Realise this by whatever vigour

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of discipline. (4) Then misery is past, births are ended. Thou art saved. So is the perfect one. Here we are irresistibly reminded of our own Salvationist, who is only to know that he is saved and in that knowledge is *ipso facto* saved. So akin is all mysticism.

"Existence then to the Hindu is misery, for it means separation from the Divine, and here we call to mind St. Paul's saying that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain. But it is want of knowledge that keeps us on the wheel :.....Hinduism deals with all the stress and trouble of life, supplying a philosophy that satisfies the most learned as well as the most ignorant. The ups and downs of life, the lofty and humble estate, happiness and misery, all are accounted for. *Karma* (a sort of debit and credit account of the soul in its former existence) explains the justice of the human drama. 'Who toiled a slave, may come anew a Prince.' But every condition is temporary : the wheel is ever turning."

In reply to the objection that this religion, this idea of life, is merely suited to the philosopher and the mystic, Mr. Barrow gives the following answer :—

"This philosophy 'is breathed by every Hindu from his earliest youth and pervades in various forms the prayer even of the idolater, the speculations of the philosopher and the proverbs of the beggar.' And no one who has lived long in India and moved amongst the people can have failed to see how ever present is the subtle spirit of these beliefs. The Brahman priest and the ascetic Yogi are everywhere preaching them. Every Hindu family has its priest, and in every step of his life the Hindu is enveloped in the mysteries and in sanctities of his religion; and be it remembered that this deliverance, which is the be-all and end-all of his desire, is not to be obtained by any course of action, but by knowledge and by suppression of his appetites. He can be delivered from the interminable births, the terrible transmigrations, only by soul concentration."

"Idolatry," continues the writer, "seems to come both from above, that is, from the pantheistic philosophy that everything is God and therefore can be worshipped : and from below, that is, from the absorption into Hinduism of the primitive cults, e.g. the aborigines with their fetish and other deities. All the numerous gods that Hindus believe in are merely incarnations of the supreme—a kind of mediators —subject more or less to the same condition as human beings. The Supreme is unconditioned and impersonal, and of Him (or It) nothing can be predicated, and He (or It) is never directly worshipped. The main philosophy of the Hindus is called the Vedanta, and its chief object seems to be to define the undefinable or the Supreme by

saying what It is not. He, or It, is Brahma the Infinite Unity, and, as I have said, to become conscious of being in that Unity is the chief object of man and brings salvation. Brahmins, Yogis, ascetics of all kinds, pilgrims, all are striving for the one far-off divine event, absorption into the Divine."

Mr. Barrow, however, does not shut his eyes to what he believes to be so many defects and short-comings that have crept into Modern Hinduism ; he observes :—

" That Hinduism panders to the lower and sensual instincts by teaching that all is divine, and therefore allowable ; that it leads to gross and grovelling idolatory ; that it weakens the will power by its doctrine of *Karma*, or inherited merits and demerits ; and above all that it favours a permanent and unprogressive social system ; that it cultivates pride and self-conceit ; and perhaps, above all, that it destroys all desire to develop and govern the forces of nature by its teaching that all is *Maya* or illusion and has no existence in reality ; and that consequently it provides no mental basis for history or science. Moreover, that in the spiritual plane it has the greatest defect of all, the want of a belief in a personal god. While the characters of the Hindu deities are more or less puerile, there are no compensations as among the Romans and the Greeks of having temples to Truth, Chastity, Justice, Liberty and such like virtues. But the masses are left to be fascinated by a ceremonialism, idolatrous and often obscene."

Inspite of this " black calendar of defects," the writer asserts that Hinduism has great strength and proceeds on to show how Hinduism has stood against Mahomedanism and Buddhism :

" It is an ancient and renowned religion, teaching positive proofs and grappling in a determined way with the mysteries and problems of life. It has risen triumphant over Buddhism with its sentimental theism, and by the sheer weight of its inertia and by its possession above all of its great truth of divine immanence, it has offered an unconquerable front to the fierce onslaught of Mohammedanism. To the Hindu, Mohammedanism ever was and ever must be abhorrent. It is as if some one had constructed a beautiful and highly decorated house with delicate tracery and artistic sculpture, and some Puritan suddenly appeared and destroyed it all, saying that all that was wanted was the bare roof and walls to keep out sun, wind, and rain. Such must be the feeling of Hindu religious thought when subjected to the rude assult of Islam, to the " God is God, and Mohammed is His prophet " style of belief. For Islam presents only a naked deism with all idea of divine immanence

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stamped out. But of the one all-pervading unity the Hindu mind had been conscious for ages, and through the milleniums it had been struggling with the entities and infinites of life. It had felt the divine near at hand as well as far off and its Vedas had long ago made search after the Supreme.....Between the warm-blooded Aryan conception of God everywhere, and the cold Semitic one of a solitary God in unapproachable glory, which the Mohammedan invaders brought with them, there could be no agreement, no truce.

To Mr. Barrow Mahomedanism seems to be "an ebbing tide." He observes :

"Like its progenitor Judaism, it has something lacking which human nature imperiously demands. Neither can stand the strong disintegrating influence of progressive thought, for the religious forces moving the civilized world are connected rather with the immanence than the transcendence of God. The latter to the scientific mind of the age is self-evident—man has so far learnt his lesson. It is belief in the divine in and around us that has to be realised, that is so easily crushed out by life's cares and ambitions, the life that we are so prone merely to waste in getting and spending. Already Hindu philosophy finds itself grasping the hand of European and American spiritualism, and its strength and self-respect are correspondingly increased."

Although Hinduism has been able to hold its own against Mahomedanism and Buddhism the writer curiously thinks that it will give way before "Christian Ethics and Christian philosophy."

"The idea of a personal God is finding its way in," says the writer "as if this idea had never been conceived before by Hinduism. The adoption of "the political ideals of Christendom" by Hinduism and its attempt to "fit them into its own ideals" only shows the tolerant spirit of the Hindu to be ready to assimilate and emulate whatever is best and noblest in other creed without giving up the essentials of his own system.

Mr. Barrow, however, concludes his article with a reference to the present unrest in India which he rightly attributes to the acquaintance of the Indians with the political ideals of the west. Mr. Barrow seems to be a little too chary about conceding self-government to the Indians ; observes he : "the strong and gusty tides of political and religious passion will ebb and flow. British statesmanship will have to control them if shipwreck is to be avoided.....It becomes us to walk warily in granting what is called self-government. There must be no paltering with sedition. The native of India, especially the Hindu, can have only one proper

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attitude towards the State, namely, one of respectful regard." The writer, however, concludes with the following wise warning :

" Indians have a just claim to have an increasing share in the government of their own country, and forces of public opinion are setting in their favour. But let them not check these forces by having resources to the method of the assassin and the anarchist."

SPIRITUAL FORCES IN INDIA

Rev. N. Macnicol of Poona dwells upon the *Spiritual Forces in India* and their relation to present political developments in the country in the September number of *The Contemporary Review*. The interest of the article is centred round a well-chosen catalogue of Hindu cults illustrating the various forms Hinduism has assumed in different parts of the land, attended sometimes with sober reflections on the same. Imbued, however, with an exaggerated fear of the recent political outbursts, and unable to rise above the prejudices of an average English missionary that salvation is attainable only by embracing Christianity as comprehended by them, we fear the writer has not always been able to maintain that width of views or impartial spirit which is essential in an accurate treatment of a subject of such vast importance.

The writer begins with a reference to the revolt of Young India against the idea that "the riches of this world, that all things of the world, are naught." They believe "asceticism and higher Philosophy have hypnotised the people and arrested their natural function" and urges the cessation of all religious activities for a time, at least, "to regain the lost energy for handling more immediate things and join other nations in the race for 'butter'." Rev. Macnicol rightly condemns this as "unworthy aims," although he considers that "the mind of India might be diverted with much advange of a kind from the mysteries of the unseen to the profits of the seen" and rejoices at the "distinct quickening of the national conscience from its old lethargy."

The writer, however, expresses his confidence in the high sense of the political leaders of India of "the meaning of her calling, and of the discipline that her sons must undergo if they are to fulfil that calling" and gives them the following advice : "They must call to their help forces that only a religious motive can command. Only thus can they hope to exercise on the people, with whom religion has been a passion for three thousand years, an influence that will be deep and that will be abiding. They and every one

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who would touch the heart and mould the life of India must go down among the silent masses of the people. They must turn their backs upon the cities and the life of the cities..... It is this fact, no less than the tenacity of their (of the masses) minds and the elusiveness of their thoughts, that has made it appear so often as if messages conveyed to the people of this land were writ on water." "The path of vision is easy," continues the writer, "but unless there be a light between eye and soul there is no vision. The light between eye and soul is furnished to one who would seek to understand and interpret India by sympathy with the longing to know the truth and to come near to God that in every age of her long history has lifted up her heart to heaven."

The writer then narrates some of his experiences of the village life in India to supply the data for the nation-builders to work upon :

(1) To a silent circle in a village he heard a Brahman read from Mr. Tilak's *Kesari* the story of the canonisation as a martyr and a hero of a Bengali anarchist, hanged for a peculiarly determined murder, of the funeral pyre of sandal wood, of the barefooted procession of Calcutta's youth, and of the ashes borne away in gold and silver vessels.

(2) The women hasten to the well, with the same quarrels and the same tales of scandal over which their mothers, too, waxed shrill in the days of Abraham.

(3) On asking a group of men returning from the shrine of Khandoba, "What did you get ?," they replied "Nothing." Then why did you go there ?" "Why, to get a sight of the god." And there on this hill-top they had seen him in all the glory of red paint, and perhaps had watched the quaking and quivering "possessed" rushing madly up the temple stairs and uttering wild and incoherent prophecies. Or perhaps, uglier still, they had looked on while some little girl, vowed to him from birth, was married to the sword of the grim old warrior god and made thus a "bride of heaven" to live a degraded life on earth.

"There are unnumbered cults and faiths in India," goes on the writer, "winds stirring strange ripples on the people's minds—some of them airs from heaven, many of them blasts from hell—there are philosophies profound and subtle that cast their desolating shadow over even the simplest hearts, but among them all the one well from which springs, and has sprung for centuries, a stream of living water is the *bhakti* worship, the "loving faith" that gathers about the names of certain gods. These pilgrims with their cymbals and their songs testify that hearts in India, in spite of priest and

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ceremonial and superstition, yet lift their longings to the unknown God, and yearn to draw near and clasp His "lotus feet."

Referring to the blending together of religious and political sentiments and the tremendous results that might be achieved if India diverted herself from the world of illusion to the world of kings and constitutions, the writer observes :—

".....the old religious power is lying latent all the timeand to govern India in oblivion of those slumbering fires is to commit a capital mistake. There are indications that they are awaking again to activity and that the future of India will be largely determined by the fuel that those passions find. Already there is evidence that the combination of Indian religious intensity with Western science and Western politics is producing in some cases a chemical product as explosive and as dangerous as picric acid. Silent, dormant as it appears to have been for so long, the religious passion of the Indian people has begun to awake again, and, directed to temporal and unmoral ends, is proving an evil and a desolating force. The *Bhagavadgita* is certainly, and has been for centuries, the most powerful religious scripture in India. It has been quaintly described as "the wonderful song that causes the hair to 'stand on end.' As a matter of fact it is a call to the consecration of every work to the service of God without thought of reward. It remains true that to the Indian reader the end to which it directs that complete devotion is an unmoral end, and the God to whose fellowship it calls may all the time be no god but a demon. It is represented as first spoken with the purpose of persuading a hero to go forth to battle in violation of his natural human instincts of compassion.....We need not wonder that Bengali anarchists have walked to the scaffold, reciting as they went verses of the *Gita*. The Song of the Blessed One has been adopted apparently as one of the badges of the party of anarchy, and to be a student of this scripture is almost accepted as a reason why one should be watched by the police. But perhaps the strangest and most ominous feature of the religious situation in India is the appearance of what is called "Matri-puja," the worship of Mother. The watchword of the Indian national awakening is "Bande Mataram," "Hail to the Mother," and in the case of many who use it it is quite a harmless and commendable expression of patriotic sentiment. No doubt it in many cases connotes as well the meaning that some foreigners, innocent of Sanskrit learning, have given it, "Down with the English." But it may, and in some cases certainly does, point to something still

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more serious. A young educated Indian who has lost his faith in the gods of his fathers, and has found to take their place no object to which he can give his devotion, is a particularly pathetic spectacle, placed as he is "between two worlds, one dead, and other powerless to be born." What wonder if the passion of surrender to the service of his country should come to him in such a case as a fierce fanaticism? "The mother" is then to him an unmoral deity for whose sake anything may be done or dared."

The Rev. missionary, true to the traditions of his profession, is naturally over-sanguine about the superior claims of Christianity to lead humanity to salvation, temporal and eternal, and concludes his interesting article as follows :

"Those sinister suggestions awaken many doubts as to the future towards which India is hastening even though it be with the shade of Huxley or of Herbert Spencer at the helm. The outlook would seem dark enough were it not that there is at work in the land another leaven in which surely lies its hope. For many, as has been said, the message of the Gita has been and is a call to battle with no other foe than a rebellious heart; and it is not too much to claim that much of its power to-day rests in the fact that it can be filled with the truth of Christ and be made to echo with His music. For many the Motherland claims a pure devotion, that is at the same time a devotion to those high ideals of a people's good that Christianity has taught to men.....The forces that sleep silent in the peasants' hearts, or send them forth as pilgrims on some far and dimly comprehended quest, may break forth for a time in anarchy and frenzied superstition. But that is, we are sure, only a passing phase, and those powers are coming more and more under a mightier and a worthier dominion. Is he a too credulous prophet who describes the Stronger drawing near that He may take under His domain those strong passions of the spirit? *Ecce Deus fortior te qui veniens dominabitur tibi.*"

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

At the annual gathering of the Students' Brotherhood held in Bombay early this month, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale delivered the following address on "Students and Politics":

"One of the most anxious, as it is one of the most important problems confronting us to-day is how to supply guidance, wise and patriotic, to our youngmen, so that their lives may be directed into channels of high purpose and en-

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deavour in the service of the motherland and to sustain, on one hand, those pure impulses and generous enthusiasms which are the special privilege of youth, and on the other, to instil into young minds a due sense of proportion and of responsibility and a correct realization of the needs of the country. This can never be an easy task, and in the present situation of India it is beset with extraordinary difficulties. Influences are at work around us which bid everyone "not to sit, not to stand, but to go." The very air we breathe is laden with a longing for change. Our beliefs are crumbling, new adjustments of ideas have become necessary, and amidst this general commotion which has been very properly called unrest, it was not to be expected that our students alone should continue to stand where they did. It is not the fact of their movement so much as the direction in which a large proportion of them have been moving, that calls for our most earnest attention and our closest inquiry. It is a well-known truism that the students of to-day will be the citizens of to-morrow. Ideas and aspirations which give a decisive bent to their minds are, therefore, matters of the deepest moment to the country, and it behoves us all seriously to examine how far they are calculated to prepare them for the responsibilities which must, in due course, descend to them. One complaint, which is often heard, may be dismissed at once. It is said in disparagement of the Indian student that he begins to feel an interest in politics long before his time and that it is necessary to put an end to this state of things. Now, the fact itself of such precocious interest may be admitted at once, but those who speak of it as an evil that must, or can be, put down, fail obviously to realise that it is an inevitable result of the exceptional political situation of the country and that it is bound to last as long as that situation continues in all essentials unaltered. Among the self-governing people politics brings into play not only the sentiment of patriotism, but also the sense of responsibility. And young men, who feel the sentiment, but lack the sense of responsibility, naturally leave practical affairs to their elders who possess both. To the Indian student, on the other hand, Indian politics is only a struggle, in which his countrymen are engaged on behalf of their motherland, with a body of foreign officials, representing the rule of another nation. There is no room here, even for the elders, for any feeling of responsibility with regard to the administration of the country, and for our young men, who find no restraining consideration in their patch-politics, necessarily revolves itself into a mere matter of patriotic sentiment.

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An interest in politics is to the Indian student the same thing as an interest in the country. And to such interest, all that is earnest, all that is self-respecting, all that is chivalrous, all that is patriotic in his nature, is continually impelling him. England herself has introduced into the country ideas, which preach to us the dignity and high worth of patriotism, of freedom, of self-government, and which tell us of the contempt which, in the eyes of all self-governing people, covers those who accept their subjection in a slavish spirit. Our politics to-day, is, for the most part, a spread of those ideas among the people and an attempt to apply them to our present condition. And it is inevitable that the most impressionable minds in the country should be the most affected by them. Responsibility alone will steady our judgments and control the restlessness of our patriotism. Where responsibility has been conferred on the people, as in Municipal matters, students feel no interest before their time. As we cease to fill the role of mere critics at the administration and are admitted to a participation in the responsibilities of Government, our politics will advance from the sentimental to the responsible stage, and the precious interest, at present felt in it by our young men, will tend to disappear. But because it is impossible to prevent Indian students from taking an interest in politics before their time, therefore it does not follow that they should be left to pick up their political ideas, where and how they can. On the contrary, I strongly hold that a crying need of the present situation is the provision in Colleges of facilities for the efficient training of what may be called the political sense of our young men. The present policy of treating politics, and specially current politics, as dangerous, and in some respects, even a forbidden subject, has only resulted in depriving students of that guidance to which they are entitled at the hands of their teachers in forming sound views on important questions. To leave them thus to their own devices, amidst the perplexities of a difficult situation, is to neglect a plain duty towards them at a critical period in their lives, and the consequences of this neglect have been and are bound to be serious and far reaching.

"I think, our students, especially college students, should enjoy every possible facility for acquiring an accurate knowledge of political matters, and forming sound views in regard to them. They should be encouraged to discuss such matters freely in the college ; and publicists, whose opinions are entitled to weight, should, from time to time, be invited to take part in the discussions. They should be at liberty to attend public lectures and addresses on politi-

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cal subjects, and they may even attend political meetings with advantage, provided they are there only as spectators. But when it comes to active participation in what is called political agitation, I think, we must draw a line. Political agitation, directed towards the people, seeks to educate and organize public feeling and public opinion in political matters. Directed towards the Government it seeks to bring the pressure of that feeling or opinion to bear upon the authorities for the purpose of securing the changes that are desired. In either case it is most responsible action, and students, with their immature judgments, are not qualified to take part in it. The active participation of students in political agitation really tends to lower the dignity and the responsible character of public life, and impair its true effectiveness. It also fills the students themselves with unhealthy excitement after evoking in them a bitter partisan spirit, which cannot fail to interfere with their intellectual and moral growth. The period of four or five years, which most young men spend at college, is all too short a time for the work which properly belongs to it, namely, preparation in knowledge and character for the responsibilities of life. Surely it is not too much to ask our students to exercise a little patience and self-restraint during this period and defer responsible action in politics till after they have completed their studies, and taken their place in the public life of the country. I venture to think, that a stage has been reached in our affairs, when it is necessary for us to face resolutely our responsibilities in this matter. Every one knows that during the last few years a new school of political thought has risen in the country and that it has exercised a powerful fascination over the minds of young men, more or less, in all parts of India. A considerable part of what it has preached could not but find ready acceptance on every hand. That love of country should be the ruling principle of our lives, that we should rejoice in making sacrifices for her sake, that we should rely, wherever we could, on our own exertions,—these propositions are not preached for the first time in the country, but they were urged by the new party from a hundred platforms and in a hundred organs of public opinion, with a passion which roused general enthusiasm. Side by side with this undoubtedly valuable work, the new party gave to the country a good deal of what could only be regarded as unsound political teaching. That teaching was in the first instance directed to the destruction of the very foundations of the old public life of the country ; but once started, it could not be confined to that object, and in course of time, it came to be applied generally. Its chief aim lay in its ignor-

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ing all historical consideration, and tracing our principal troubles to the existence of foreign government in the country. Our old public life was based on frank and loyal acceptance of British rule, due to recognition of the fact that, that rule alone could secure to the country the peace and order which were necessary for slowly evolving a nation out of the heterogenous elements of which it was composed and for ensuring to it steady advance in differert directions. The new teaching condemned all faith in the British Government as childish and all hope of any real progress under it as vain. Petitioning on a respectful representation on a grievance to authorities, which in England is asserted as a right of the people after a long struggle, is denounced as mere mendicancy. Boycott was to be the new weapon, and its universal adoption was to bring us the realisation of all our dreams. The teaching made for a time rapid progress. It was new, it was plausible, it was attractive and it promised a short cut to self-Govern-
ment. True, the British Government is there, but it was to be ignored and it was expected that it would in its turn ignore those who ignored it. The spread of this teaching was greatly helped by the general gloom that had settled over the mind of the people during the closing years of Lord Curzon's administration. It was also helped by the apparent failure of the National Congress to secure constitutional reforms in the administration of the country in spite of many years' agitation. Our general lack of political judg-
ment was also responsible for the large measure of acceptance which it received. Not many of us care to think for ourselves in political matters, or, for the matter of that, in any public matter. Ready-made opinions are as convenient as ready-made cloths and not so noticeable. The bulk of the recruit of the new school came from the ranks of our students and though many of the elderly adherents of that school have by now been more or less disillusioned about the practicability of their programme, I fear its hold over its student followers is still as strong as before. It is for this reason that I have deemed it my duty to refer to the subject here to-day. I think, those of our public men, who realise the harm which the new teach-
ing had done, have not so far done their duty to the student com-
munity of the country. Their inaction had, no doubt, been due to motives of delicacy, but the result has just been as deplorable, as though the duty had been deliberately shirked. I feel it is now incum-
bent on us to speak out freely,no matter how our conduct may be un-
derstood. We owe this to our country ; we owe this to the young men themselves. As I have already said, the self-reliance part of the new

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programme cannot but be acceptable to all. It is in regard to the attitude towards the Government, which the programme advocates that the need for a protest and a warning arises. As my friend, Babu Bhupendranath Bose pointed out the other day in Calcutta, you can no more ignore the Government than you can ignore the sun. Moreover, even if you want to ignore the Government it is not so certain that the Government will want to ignore you. Meanwhile all this wild talk brings on depression as a natural consequence, which in its turn tends to paralyse all activity in the country. Some of the leaders of the new thought have gone so far as to talk of independence as an object of practical pursuit. Now, if any one would merely sit at home, and give himself up to dreaming dreams and among them dream of independence of his country and every manner of perfection for his people, I would have no quarrel with him. But the moment he preaches his dream of independence as a practical policy to be pursued by his countrymen it becomes another matter, and we then owe it to the best interests of the country to resist the propaganda with all our energy and all our resources. One has only to look round to realize where a movement for independence is bound to land us. Meanwhile, it means the sure destruction or, at any rate, the indefinite postponement of all those opportunities for slow, but peaceful, progress which are at present within our reach. The worst sufferers from this propaganda have been, and will continue to be, our impulsive and simple-hearted students.

"When any one talks to young men of independence in a country like this, only two ideas are likely to present themselves clearly before their mind. One is, how to get rid of the foreigner, and the other, how soon to get rid of him. All else must appear to them as comparatively of very minor importance. The risk which earnest-minded young men must run from such ideas fermenting in their heads should be obvious to every body and the worst of it is that the more earnest the men, the greater is the risk to which they are exposed. We hear it asserted by some advocates of independence that their plan is to use only peaceful means for the attainment of their end. They may intend to use only peaceful means but the Government which certainly does not want to see its rule overthrown will not long permit them to retain their peaceful character. One almost feels inclined to apologise to an audience for urging on its attention considerations so obvious and so elementary. That such reminders have become necessary only shows how easily the balance of political judgment in our country is apt to

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be upset. Our young men must make up their minds about it that there is no alternative to British rule, not only now, but for a long time to come and that any attempts made to disturb it directly or indirectly are bound to recoil on our own heads.

"Our rulers stand pledged to extend to us equality of treatment with themselves. This equality is to be sought in two fields, equality for individual Indians with individual Englishmen, and equality in regard to the form of Government which Englishmen enjoy in other parts of the Empire. This attainment of full equality with Englishmen, if ever it is accomplished, is bound to be a slow and weary affair. But one thing is clear, it is both our right and our duty to press onward along this road ; and further good faith requires that we should not think of taking any other. At the end of this road, far distant from where we at present are, may be seen a house in which Frenchmen and Dutchmen are gathered with Englishmen. Whether we shall ever acquire the strength which will carry us to that house, whether we shall be admitted into it even if we reach there, or whether our journey will terminate in some other way the future alone will disclose.

"We may occasionally cast a glance at the house to cheer us in our toil or to form to ourselves an idea of the strength needed to carry us there, but to worry at present about our probable lot in the remote future is both unnecessary and unwise. Of the two-fold equality we have to seek with Englishmen the first, though in itself difficult of attainment, is not so difficult as the second. For it is possible to find in this country a fair number of Indians who in character and capacity could hold their own against individual Englishmen. But the attainment of a democratic form of self-government such as obtains in other parts of the empire must depend upon the average strength in character and capacity of our people, taken as a whole. For it is on our average strength that the weight of the edifice of self-government will have to rest. And here it must be regrettfully admitted that our average, to-day, is far below the English average.

"The most important work before us, therefore, now is to endeavour to raise this average, so that it may approach the English average, as the French and the Dutch averages go. Here is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. In fact, on every side, whichever way we turn, only one sight meets the eye, that of our work to be done and only one cry is heard that there are but few faithful workers. The elevation of the depressed classes, who have to be brought up to the level of the rest of our people, uni-

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versal elementary education, co-operation, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry, higher education of woman, spread of industrial and technical education and building up the industrial strength of the country, promotion of closer relations between the different communities, these are some of the tasks which lie in front of us and each needs a whole army of missionaries. Shall the need go unsupplied? And out of the thousands of young men that leave our Universities year after year shall not even a few hear within them the voices that speak to the spirit and respond gladly to this call? The work is the work of the country. It is also the work of humanity. If after all the awakening of which we speak, and over which we justly rejoice, these fields do not yield their harvest for want of workers, India must wait for another generation before she receives faithful service from her children."

With every word, sentence and idea expressed in this beautiful address we find ourselves in entire agreement. No one in India could possibly put the matter so clearly and so forcibly and in such a frank and outspoken manner. We invite all educated men in India, young and old, to give this discourse the serious consideration which it so richly deserves. Alike for the richness of its thought, the clearness of its expositions, the purity of its diction, and the masterly dexterity with which complicated problems are attacked and answered, this address should repay very careful *study*.

REVIEW & NOTICES OF BOOKS

FOUR EMINENT INDIANS

[Biographical Sketches of Budruddin Tyabji, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, and R. C. Dutt. Published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. *Eminent Indians Series.* Foolscape 8vo. Four Annas per Volume.]

The four booklets under review are of a uniform series of handy brochures giving short sketches of the lives and careers of—up to yet—fifteen eminent Indians, whose names and memories will remain the heritage of the Indian nation for many centuries yet to come.

Opinions differ as to what the meagreness of Indian biographical literature is really due to. Some would put this down to an absence of the historical spirit in India, others to the difficulty of getting proper materials, and a third persuasion would ascribe it to the want of a good, appreciative reading public. In any case, hero-worship is not much of an institution in India and Boswells do not grow and flourish under the discouraging atmosphere of a tropical climate. Save the few fortunate ones that, in the dim vista of legend, have succeeded in taking their place in the Hindu pantheon, we have persistently ignored India's patrimony of the great in thought and action for many a long century. But the signs of a reaction are happily in sight.

Though the series under review cannot be said to remove entirely the desideratum in Indian biographical literature, short sketches like these have their use and necessity. These rapid reviews of the lives and careers of the great men of the India of to-day will not fail to interest a casual reader and will enlighten many an ignorant one. They are also calculated to foster a better inter-provincial understanding and a better and clearer-sighted patriotism.

Like skilful pen-and-ink artists, the authors of these booklets have succeeded in giving us the main and suggestive outlines of the features of their biographical subjects with but a few strokes of their own pen. These worthies have been described as they really were, out of their own mouth, and the authors of these sketches only fill in the necessary voids. Yet, we do not miss the broad lines that mark one profile from another, and the pronounced traits of aspect that characterise the hero and distinguish him from the snob.

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Judged by Beaconsfield's dictum that "one who affects the mind of his generation is a great man," everyone of these four Indians can claim that distinction. They all saw the light during the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century—so prolific in producing great men in every part of the world. None of them had "life in low estate began," but they belonged to what may be termed the upper middle class of India. All of them four had the advantage of English education, were earnest patriots, and received the highest honour in the gift of the people of India—the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Budruddin Tyabji was one of the earliest Mahomedan acquisitions to the Congress cause. As a reformer, as a man of high character, of refined manners, genuine patriotism and sturdy independence, as a lawyer and judge of great acumen, he was among the choice and master spirits of his age. His labours in the cause of the education and freedom of the women of his community will long be memorable and would secure him an enduring niche in the hearts of his admiring countrymen. Though he joined the popular cause comparatively late in life, and at the persuasion of the late Messrs Ranade and Telang, he threw himself heart and soul into it, and was one of those who will be remembered by posterity as the Apostolical Fathers of the Congress Movement. In his presidential address at the third session of the Indian National Congress, held at Madras in 1887, he began by saying that he had accepted the office of President not so much because it was the highest honour that the people could confer on an Indian, as because he was anxious to demonstrate that there was nothing in the aims and methods of the Congress which could justify the Islamic community in India giving it a wide berth. But nothing could be more fearless and noble than the pronouncement he made as President of the Mahomedan Educational Conference of 1903, in the presence of a distinguished assembly, including the Governor of Bombay.

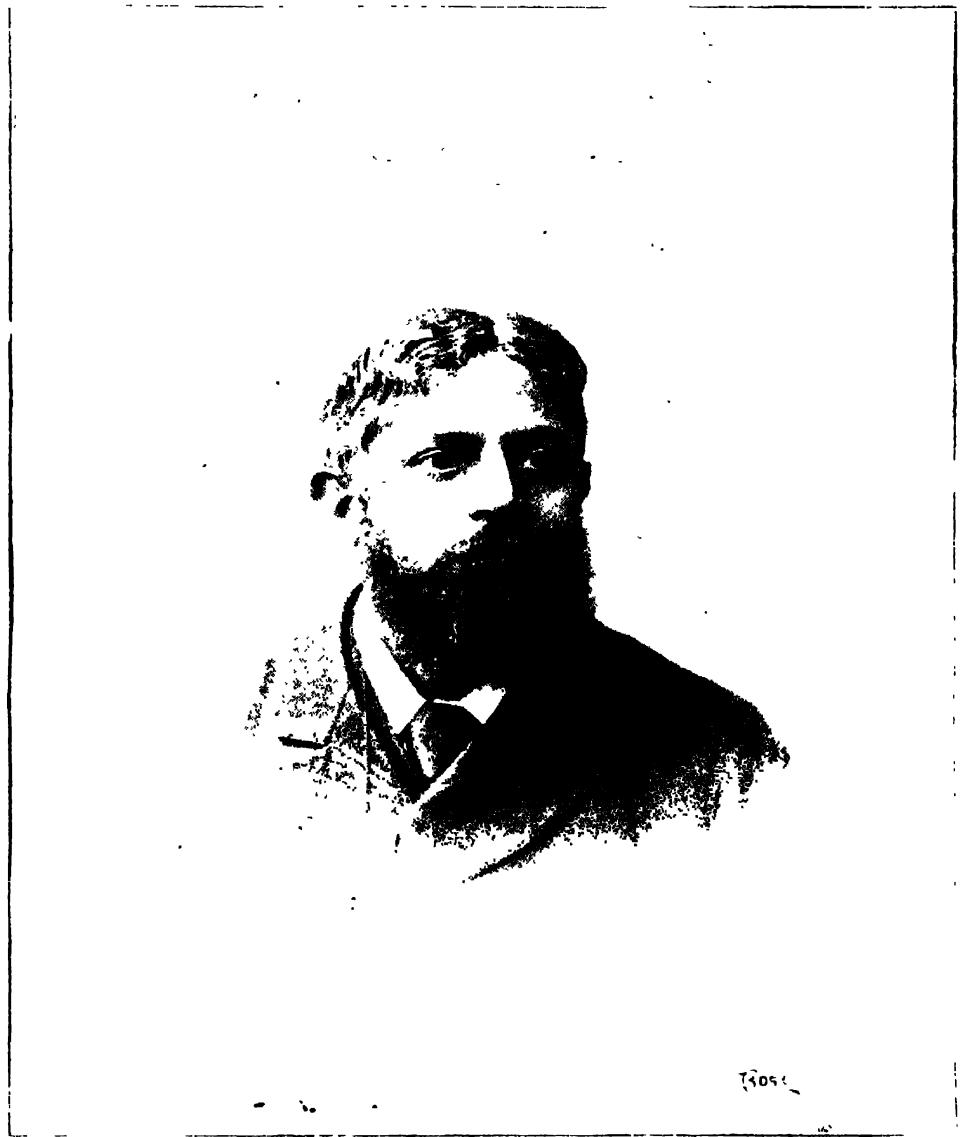
"You are no doubt aware," said he, "that I have always been a supporter of the Indian National Congress.....I deemed it my duty to support the Congress.....You will readily understand that it was not possible for me to take any part in connection with any institution which had or could be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile or antagonistic to the Congress."

Fancy one of His Majesty's Judges of the High Court making such a bold statement in the presence of the provincial ruler ! His biographer truly observes that "this must be hard food to swallow

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for those who are endeavouring to represent the recent Mahomedan deputation to the Viceroy as being anti-Congress and anti-Hindu, and *on that account* entitled to the sympathy and countenance of Government." Alas ! for a Tyabji in these days.

We shall now turn to Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. "Of few words, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee was great in deed. He was made in one of nature's generous moods.....If he had been born in Europe, nations would have hung on his word." One of the most brilliant of forensic scholars, he shares with Manomohun Ghose the honour of being the pioneer in a new line and having won for the Indian Barristers in Bengal that esteem and regard which received its most fitting expression in a recent appointment of Lord Morley. But Mr. Bonnerjee was an ardent worker and patriot into the bargain. He gave evidence of his public spirit even in his early youth, when he established the "*Bengalee*" as a weekly political newspaper, prior to his departure for England to join the Middle Temple. Another paper, of a chequered career, *The Indian Mirror*, was started by another eminent Bengalee—Manomohan Ghose—while yet in his teens. Mr. Bonnerjee was one of the fathers of the Indian National Congress and did "first lead forth this pilgrimage sublime." He won many a convert to the Congress cause, including Pundit Ajodhya Nath, George Yule and Charles Bradlaugh. His present biographer describes him as being "almost the Director of the Congress." But we would just add that unlike some mushroom ' Directors ' who have recently come to the front, Mr. Bonnerjee was completely free from all dictatorial priggishness. He was ever a sweet principle—and not an obtrusive personality. His suavity of manners, moderation and sagacity made him an example to his fellow-workers and "the glass of fashion and the mould of form" to most of them. He had something of an unlimited faith in the British public and British justice though he himself had felt very keenly at one time of his life the disappointment of never being offered any of the prize appointments of the Calcutta Bar for no greater offence than the colour of his skin. Mr. Bonnerjee's success in the Bar was phenomenal and no judge or critic ever found occasion to take exception to his professional conduct or to find any fault with his advocacy. After a record success in the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Bonnerjee retired from India and set up practice in the Privy Council about the beginning of the present century. In his adopted land, he never forgot about India and never till the moment of his death had ceased to take an active interest in the affairs of India.



The Late Mr. Anandamohan Bose

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Mr. Bonnerjee entertained some peculiar views on social reform. He did not believe in public discussion of social questions. A martyr to a false ideal, he completely got denationalised in his social and domestic habits and committed a great blunder by bringing up his children in western ways. This was to a certain extent responsible for his permanently taking up abode at Croydon during his latter days,—resolved and destined to see the shores of India no more. And the memory of this patriot cannot be recalled but with this unhappy association. But inspite of his sartorial disguise his heart was in the right place and proclaimed him as an Indian Nationalist leader and a true *Swadeshi* worker. Mr. Bonnerjee used to describe himself as a Hindu Brahmin, for every body who knew him in flesh knew him as being in his heart of heart an Aryan Hindu devotedly attached to the traditions of Hindu civilisation and cherishing the tenderest feelings towards his orthodox relations.

Personally, as we have said, Mr. Bonnerjee was a most amiable and courteous gentleman and a kind-hearted and warm friend. He had no vindictiveness in his nature and bore no malice to anybody. As a speaker, he was never very eloquent but always was fluent and expressive. He also tried a bit of political writing but nothing of the kind that will endure. He had no snobbishness or humbug about him and appreciated merit wherever he found it. When the late Lord Stanley of Alderley sent him a cheque of £1500 to agitate on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions, he at once sent for the editor of this Review and entrusted him with the work of compiling a treatise on the subject. This treatise, when published, received his warmest appreciation and the author his sincerest congratulation. In such recognition true manhood lies.

As for Anandamohan Bose, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has aptly described him as "one of the greatest, noblest, and purest of mortals." Anandamohan Bose was a moralist, reformer and educationist next only to Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Patriotism was with him a passion. He was of an intensely religious turn of mind. Yet it would be difficult to say which appealed to him most,—politics, education or reforms—social and religious. To say that the one absorbed his interest more than the other would be to do him injustice. Politics was but one of his many interests, and he who will judge him by the result of his political achievements will surely fail to make a true estimate of his great life. In fact his patriotic and political services, educational activities and fruitful social and religious reforms—to all

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these, individually and as a whole, Ananda Mohan owed his "lasting substance of fame." But to a keen observer he must have appeared more a moral than a political force. His life-long endeavours have been one of patient dependence upon God ; and we might almost say that, like Gladstone, he believed that the attainment of political ends depended upon religion. In his struggle for liberty, and for justice between man and man, this high ideal always shone forth clear. The memorable utterance—truly described as his "swan-song"—which he made on the occasion of laying the foundation of the Federation Hall, on the ever memorable 16th of October, 1905, still reverberates in our ears. We do not know how small the authorities felt when they read it. It was marked by a solemn resignation in the merciful hand of the Providence "that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." It signalized the moral triumph of a fallen nation, in a rather unequal struggle with a prancing and defiant pro-consul. One sentence taken from this memorable utterance will show the height of optimism to which Mr. Bose could soar when impelled by a religious fervour :—" Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the throne of the Most High, at this sacred natal hour of the new and united Bengali nation ; let us bear in mind that from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows spring up the life-sustaining golden grain ; that in bitter biting winter is laid the germ of the glorious spring." To use his biographer's words, there was in "the last words of the Bengali hero, a pathos of farewell and of benediction, a deep thrill as of another world, which produced an effect not less, perhaps but more, than the great efforts of a happier time."

We shall crave our readers' permission to make another extract from one of Mr. Bose's speeches. The speech with which Mr. Bose concluded the proceedings of the 14th session of the Indian National Congress at Madras is bound to find an honoured place in Indian literature not only as a master-piece of oratory, scarcely surpassed even at Westminster, but as a soul-stirring appeal to his countrymen. We quote below only the concluding portion :—

"Do you, do we, Brother-Delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth, the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples, the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home and philosophy pondered deep over the problems of life; where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the Shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world, which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world; that land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day ? That land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer for her misfortunes of the past, of the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her,

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and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, Brothers and Sisters, fellow-citizens of this ancient land, it depends on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow unto the lovely day. At length has India awakened from the stupor of ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety, dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kind help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with splendour and lustre as of old.

"Lord Salisbury spoke the other day of the living and dying nations of the world. Shall India, Brother-Delegates, be a living nation, shall the glories that were hers remain for ever a memory of the past, or shall they once again be realities in the time before us? On us, Brother-Delegates, depends the answer, on our efforts, on the lives we live and the sacrifices we make, not in the political field alone but in many another field; and let us not forget that never was progress won without sacrifice. And in that effort, depend upon it, we shall get, as indeed we claim, the loving help and the ardent sympathy of the great Nation into whose hands Providence has entrusted the destinies of this land.

"The German host marched to its triumph to the cry of "God and Fatherland". Let ours be a still dearer cry, the cry of "God and Motherland," as our mission also is the holier and nobler enterprise of peace, of love, of loyal progress, of every duty to our Beloved Sovereign faithfully discharged, of individual growth and national regeneration. Hear we, my friends, the trumpet-call of duty resounding to us amid the stirring scenes, the moving enthusiasm, the thrilling sights of this great gathering? Yes, the call sounds clear, but let our hearts gather the strength to respond to that call, and to be true to her, our Common Mother, the land of our birth, to be true and faithful to the light that is within us, and to every noble impulse that stirs within us. And may we, as we return to our homes, to the spheres of our daily duty, carry a little more of the living love to our country than when we came, a little more of the earnest longing to be good and true and useful before the day closeth and our life's work is done."

Nobler and more heart-reaching words were never uttered by any Indian since the days of Rammohun Ray, and we remember how they moved to tears and an exceptional outburst of feeling the vast audience before him which practically was composed of the pick of the educated community drawn from all parts of India. That was a sight which did every man's soul good to see and remember.

The biographer of Mr. Bose remarks, "his services were great in education, in politics, in religion. But everywhere he fell just short of the highest. That is the penalty of being many-sided." Perhaps so. To adapt the words of Gladstone's biographer,—what interests the world in Ananda Mohan is even more what he was than what he did.

Some there are who look upon writing the life of a living celebrity with as much holy horror as upon vivisection. Cardinal Manning shared this horror and said : "To write my life while I am still alive is like putting me into my coffin before I am dead." We don't know what may be Mr. Romesh Dutt's opinion on this subject. But, we think, he—a worker in the full sun—cannot have any serious objection to a hurried, 49-page-retrospect of his eventful career. Time has not come perhaps to pass an unbiased judgment on the life-work of this living Indian celebrity. He has already won many a laurel and distinguished himself in many a department of thought and activity. Mr. Dutt's is the figure in

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the lime-light just now. Perhaps it would be on his character as a model administrator, fit to be ranked among the galaxy of first-rate Indian statesmen, that he would base his principal claim to India's lasting admiration and gratitude. In his I. C. S. days he made his mark as a vigorous and energetic District Officer and a writer of clever and clear reports on varied official interest. Before laying down his reins of office as Viceroy, the late Marquis of Ripon sent for him, as, he said, he wished to see him and know him before living India. "Your work should be known in England; the fitness of Indians for high administrative posts would not *then* be questioned." Great as was his renown as a civilian officer, his activities in Baroda are likely to constitute a corner-stone in the future administrative history of India. Many a fond scheme that have been flouted elsewhere as utopian have been tried with success in the constitutional smithy at Baroda. A more or less perfect system of self-government on the elective basis, a complete separation of the executive and judicial functions, large remissions of land revenue arrears, abolition of vexatious taxes and duties, imposition of the income tax on the richer class and a compulsory system of free primary education—to pick out a few items from the catalogue of progress—have led to general prosperity all round and the expansion of business, industries and trade. We hope that during his ensuing visit to that model Native State, His Excellency Lord Minto will be able to snatch a few moments from the inevitable *Shikar* and heartless pomp and take a few lessons from Mr. Dutt in the art of liberal and successful administration.

Scratch the Administrator and you come upon the Patriot in Mr. Dutt. In every work undertaken by him, he has been prompted by the noblest love he bears his country and his countrymen. His warm advocacy of the cause of the labouring class and the cultivators has been a dear tenet of his life. Whether in Congress or out of it,—in his famous "Open Letters to Lord Curzon,"—he has pleaded vigourously for those voiceless millions. How much of the ensuing Indian reforms we owe to him will perhaps never be known. As an author and scholar he has few peers in contemporary India. A worker in the quarry of national literature and Indian economics, he has brought before the reading public many an important truth of Indian life, history and character. We earnestly pray to God that Mr. Dutt may long be spared to his country to continue the work he has taken in hand and to further enrich the political, historic and economic literature of his dear motherland.

M. C. N.

ARTICLES

HINDUISM AS A HISTORIC GROWTH AND A LIVING FAITH

It seems to be a very bold statement to make to say that the Puranas represent an attempt at reform, for it is widely known that they embody the wildest mythology and the grossest forms of superstition. The usual way of looking at these works is to regard them as bold forgeries made to debase Vedic religion and to secure the power and profits of a mischievous priesthood. It would be bold to say that out of the very large body of works referable to this age, works which have undergone free modification and interpolation, the operation of such sinister-agencies may not occasionally be traced, but it seems to me that taken as a whole the Puranic literature is the embodiment of a quite different spirit than a spirit of reform. To see them in this light we have to look at them not as they are in themselves or in their relation to the Vedic literature but with reference to the religious condition of the country as it must have been at the time when they were compiled.

We have seen before how the Vedic religion was extended, debased and modified with the extension of the Aryan dominion over India. A great deal of this change must have already taken place at the time the Puranas were compiled. If we look upon the Puranas as an attempt to take stock of the religious myths, legends, tenets and rites in vogue at the time and to give them an added sanction in a purified and more spiritual form it will be readily acknowledged then that the Puranas do represent an attempt at reform. And I venture to assert that the Puranas and Puranic literature do represent such an attempt.

There is at least one consideration which goes to show that the Puranas did not put up new gods, new legends, or new modes of worship but only enshrined those that were found at the time to be most in vogue. It is highly improbable that at the time at which the Puranas were compiled any body of priests could fabricate new histories and get them accepted as old ones. The name Purana implies that these were records of old times, and no new-fangled legends could possibly find acceptance as old records all over India in the way the Puranas got within the short time that

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could be given them. On the other hand, they would be readily received as ancient if they recorded things which had been accepted for a long time past.

If then these Puranas are looked upon as a record not of stories wholly devised from the imagination of the authors but as a sort of census of the gods, we can see their purpose, for though brimful of absurd stories and of other things certainly not highly spiritual, these works abound in excellent moral teachings and spiritual principles. This then may be taken to be the total purpose of the Puranic literature, viz., to take full account of the beliefs developed by the natural religious consciousness of man and to so manipulate them as to establish upon their basis a structure of lofty spiritualism. For, if by spiritualism is meant the recognition of man as a spiritual principle with a moral destiny and a theory of the universe involving a supreme spiritual principle to whom reverence is due, if it means the cultivation of that instinct in man by which he will not seek the mere worldly goods but yearn for things that are of eternal worth, then it must be admitted that in spite of all the grossness and absurdity of its legends Puranic teachings properly imbibed do lead to such a result. If proofs were necessary of such a result of the Puranic teaching it might be afforded by an examination of the life of the masses of our people who have been for ages past under the sole influence of the Puranas. It can certainly be asserted with confidence that the masses amongst the Hindus are more spiritualistic in their convictions and their practices, much more concerned in the affairs of the hereafter in preference to the pleasures of earthly life, than any other people on earth. Viewed in the light of this result, the true effect of Puranic teaching cannot certainly be gainsaid—and it can be put forward with a certain amount of confidence that the Puranas were designed to produce a higher spiritualistic atmosphere in the lives of the masses by a skilful manipulation of their religious convictions as embodied in the theories, legends, and practices which had been naturally devoted by the native religious consciousness of the people.

This seems certain that the authors of the Puranas themselves and those great religious teachers who like Sankaracharyya upheld and preached them and sought by strenuous endeavours to secure their acceptance by the people, these men could not believe in the greater portion of these Puranas. In the Puranas themselves there are passages displaying such deep metaphysical erudition and such clear expositions of the tenets of the Upanishads, the Vedanta and Sankhya wholly inconsistent with the stories set forth in them, that

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it is impossible to believe that authors of those disquisitions could have any faith in the stories they recorded. Sankaracharyya, the great commentator of the Upanishads and the Vedanta and the astute *Adwaitavadi*, at any rate, could not possibly have any faith in the myths of the Puranas. The principle on which these great men upheld the teachings of the Puranas was that they were meant for inferior intellects, for those who could not rise to the heights of *Advaitavada*, while the higher teachings of religion as embodied in the Vedanta were for the elect, for those whose intellects had been trained by spiritual education so as to rise to the pure conception of the Brahman and of the unity of the Ego and Brahman. This principle has all along been accepted by Hindu religious teachers, and the examination of the capacity of the pupil (ज्ञानकारीविचार) is an indispensable preliminary to every branch of their science. Their idea was that it was useless to impart teachings of any religion to a person who could not comprehend its conceptions. It might secure a parrot-like adoption of a practically meaningless jargon but would rouse no sacred feeling. The formulæ set forth for the worship they could not understand might perhaps be reproduced by mimetic representations and bereft of its inner meaning might lead to thoughtless expansion. It would be far better to give each man a religion which he could comprehend and which would call forth the requisite attitude of mind, arouse enquiry, and, by bringing into existence a religious impulse, lead on to a hankering after truth and step by step to the attainment of the highest form of religion.

This was the principle according to which Hindu religious teachers worked. I am not concerned with examining how far they were successful in it or how far the discipline they ordained really led on to the attainment of the highest form of religious consciousness. It is enough to recognise that this was the principle on which they tolerated and sought to assimilate with the orthodox religion the vast body of natural religious lore which they found in vogue amongst men. It was because they thought that by means of these the proper religious attitude of mind could be created and a development onwards to the highest form of religious life could be secured that the Puranic religion was sanctioned. It is possible to have two opinions on the utility of such a procedure ; it may possibly be held that superstitions, instead of promoting spiritualism, is a dead block to all spiritual progress. But it is certainly open to question, and the attitude which has been displayed by Hindu reformers, if we have understood them rightly, is undoubtedly the only possible and reasonable way of dealing with the problem.

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The process of assimilation has not stopped there. The Puranas themselves were not the work of one particular age but must have extended over a very long time. But even after the Puranas had completed their days the further development of religion on the same lines had not stopped. The Tantras display another stage of assimilation at which the Tantrik forms of worship, which the Hindus were adopting from the Buddhists, were sanctioned and incorporated into the Hindu orthodox literature. And since then the assimilation has gone on making onward strides every day, till to-day we find in the Hindu religion a stupendous mass of inconsistent doctrines in which it is scarcely possible to find a common principle, not even the one suggested by Dr. Greaves, viz. its being referable to some Sanskrit text-book. For, as I have pointed out before, local gods and local modes of worship have grown up which are entirely foreign to Sanskrit Shastras and are supported by nothing better than mere custom and tradition and vernacular works alone.

But if our sketch of the broad outlines of the development of Hindu religion be correct, it need not be impossible to find out a body of principles by virtue of which Hinduism in all its various forms and shapes may yet claim a unity and homogeneity for itself. At the outset of this enquiry we find that the principal feature of Hindu religion is that it lays far greater emphasis upon discipline than upon doctrine. The principal purpose of the Hindu Shastras has been summed up in one word, *Dharma*, which means a regulation of our life and our impulses so as to produce a particular type of character. So far as the purely religious as distinguished from the ethical or the social aspects of this *Dharma* is concerned, we find that it consists in promoting a particular attitude of mind towards a Divine Being. This attitude is that of love and self-renunciation. The temper and attitude of mind in which we become so full of God that all egoism disappears and we feel ourselves as but the tools of God, when all our doings and happenings, profits and losses, joys and sorrows, and in short every possible thing appertaining to the Ego is dedicated to the Deity,—that is the truly religious aspect of mind that the Hindu religion looks upon as the thing of the utmost importance. Provided that this attitude of complete renunciation and *Bhakti* is promoted, it is immaterial what particular form of worship you adopt, what your particular conception of the Deity is, and what object you fix your mind upon for the attainment of this attitude of mind, for it is in this attitude that salvation lies. It is certainly essential that the devotion should be directed to the Deity, some supreme spiritual principle or some

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manifestation of such principles recognised as such manifestation. This much being conceded, the widest latitude is given to minor doctrines and the utmost tolerance shown to differing creeds.

It will be seen that in this view of matters the purpose of worship becomes entirely subjective. It is not necessary in order that God may be glorified, but that man may attain salvation; and that not by the intervention of God-head secured by prayer and worship but by the self-culture of man. It is true that minor forms of worship and prayers with an object are recognised within the sphere of Hindu religion but these are matters of minor detail and so long as the prayer and worship is made it is wholly immaterial with what object it is made. Of itself it will advance the self culture and secure the emancipation of man. The central truth of Hinduism is thus seen to be a faith in divinity and absolute renunciation and self-surrender to God. Different philosophers and theologians have apprehended it differently. Men of indifferent culture have developed very lowly conceptions of the religion, but these are the principles which are seen to be the prevailing notes in every form of Hindu faith. Hinduism then is not a mere name, but embraces a vast body of varying faiths held together and isolated from the rest of the world's faiths by a rigid social system and strung together by virtue of the common governing principle of the religion as embodied in a faith in Divinity and absolute self-surrender to Him. It matters little that the various forms of faith differ in the number of gods—minor creations of one supreme being they recognise, they all agree in the tacit recognition of one supreme Being, sometimes viewed as a Trinity. It matters little that various sects have fought amongst themselves on behalf of their favourite deities. It is enough if they have all tended to produce this attitude of mind.

Herein lies the secret of that wonderful tolerance with which widely differing creeds have been given a place in Hinduism, this the principle by virtue of which Hinduism, though many in form, is ultimately and in essence one.

In what sense then can an educated Hindu of today, who cannot have faith in any one of the prevailing forms of Hinduism may yet call himself a Hindu, not by mere formal acquiescence but also from conviction? What is Hinduism as a living faith amongst educated Indians?

It is quite clear that the abstract principle which has been above set forth as the basic unity of Hinduism cannot of itself be a religion. But consistently with that principle a Hindu may hold his own views of the nature of the divinity and may find in the tenets

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of the religion and philosophy of India doctrines which will satisfy his soul. He may find for instance in a true conception of the Vedantic philosophy a perfectly rational solution of the religious problem. That being accepted he may find the only possible way of worship to be an attempt to lose himself in the infinitude of the Brahman. In the *gayatri* he finds the clue to the truest worship and the best mode of approaching the Brahman. The *gayatri* consists of two stages in the contemplative worship of God. The first is the stage of preparation, the *vyahriti*, by which you bring your mind to the condition in which alone that contemplation is possible. The worshipper is thus required by the first words of the *gayatri* to realise his oneness with the entire Universe of Being, with *bhuh* (this world), *bhubah* (the other worlds), and *swah* (Heaven.) When the mind has by this attempt been withdrawn from the disturbing influences of the world and merged in the infinitude of the Universe, then, the worshipper attempts to realise by contemplation the glorious power of the Being who produced all these and who has lit the lamp of reason in us by which we contemplate Him. Now it is needless to point out that this is undoubtedly a very noble, and indeed to my mind the holiest, form that worship may take.

A Hindu who holds a faith and adopts a form of worship like the above is certainly a truly religious man, and he may with the most sanguine confidence describe himself as a Hindu, not because he conforms to the caste-rules of Hinduism but to the matter of his conception of God and His worship.

There is no Hindu capable of speaking with any authority about his religion who will deny that this is the true essence of Hinduism. But there may be those whose practices may be different. Without denying that this is the highest form of worship ordained by Hinduism, they may feel that the culture of mind with which alone such worship becomes possible is not attainable all at once. They may hold that to come to that state of culture you may have to pass through a preliminary religious culture, and they may differ as to the exact forms which they think it necessary in order to attain to the height of this contemplation. This may lead to differences in practice which may be vastly diversified, but that would not justify us in forgetting the essential unity underlying all these practices. The discipline of the different churches of Christianity vastly differ, the doctrines also are differently viewed by different churches, yet today at any rate every Christian admits that they all are in essence the same and the differences are only differences in the way of apprehending the same central doctrines or of determining the dis-

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cipline that would lead to a true Christian life. The Hindu may similarly claim that the diversity of practice only arises from the different ways in which different men apprehend the necessary stages in the development of true spiritual life and that the goal is in every case the same and the doctrine at the root only one.

This of course applies only to differences amongst those who intelligently and sincerely follow the Hindu faith. But, it must be conceded, that the vast mass of our people is lost in empty and meaningless ritualism and with the great majority of men Hinduism means something very different from that what it ought to mean. A great many of us understand their dues to Hinduism fully satisfied if they satisfy some social rules. Others understand by it simply meaningless ritualism, the unintelligent utterance of sanskrit mantras and of other mantras secretly imparted to them by their preceptors which are absolute nonsense. Those whose religious thoughts are wholly immersed in these rituals, or who cannot rise above the idolatry of image-worship, are not Hindus in the true sense of the word. Image-worship may properly claim to be called Hinduism, if it is something more than idolatry, if you go behind the idol and stand face to face with the aspect of spiritual power which the image manifests, that is if it arouses the truly religious attitude in your mind. But if it is the worship of the mere block of wood or stone or the mass of clay and nothing further, every Hindu will emphatically affirm that it is not Hinduism. It is not by these that Hinduism has to be judged as a living faith, but by the truest and noblest conception of which it is capable. And judged by this, it may be claimed that no Hindu need go out of his faith to seek the satisfaction of his religious consciousness. He may proudly hold up his head and say that he is a Hindu and yet feel convinced in his inmost heart that he has true religion in him. He need not be ashamed of the vast amount of ignorance and superstition that is associated with the name of Hinduism or of those lowly things in the way of religion which masquerade under its name. He may know that all these owe their existence and recognition to historic causes and for serving certain definable purposes. If and in so far as they serve to secure the end sought to be attained by their means, they may be tolerated. If they do not help the attainment of that spiritualism and only retards its growth, he may feel it necessary to remove them by a large dissemination of true knowledge. Weeds grow in every field, and that we have had more than our usual share of them should not make us forget or prevent us to value the real worth of the bumper crop of

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genuine spiritualism which we have inherited from a long line of self-less seekers after God.

Nares C. Sen Gupta

TANTIA TOPI—THE LIEUTENANT OF THE NANA

The military career of Nana Sahib having ended ignominiously, the more difficult task of protecting the unfortunate mutinous sepoys, who lured by his tempting offers had flocked to the rebel standard against the avenging wrath of the powerful English, devolved on Tantia Topi, one of his bravest and cleverest lieutenants. This celebrated Maharatta was born of a respectable and high Brahmin parentage, in Jola Pargannah, Potada, Zillah Nagar, about the year 1812. From his boyhood he attached himself to the Court of Bajee Rao and was a constant companion of the Nana Sahib. "He was well skilled in military tactics and made the old predatory system of Maharatta warfare his study."(a) At that time, the Maharatta Peshwa was an independent ruler. He was thus a born citizen of a free State. He had also the conviction that the Nana Sahib was his master and had been unjustly deprived of his father's rights and liberties as the adopted son of the Peshwa. "Whether the English recognised him or not, Nana Sahib was still Peshwa in the eyes of every true Maharatta."(b) In the small band of degenerate, mean and debauched associates of the Nana, Tantia was a glorious exception. Pious, modest and firm, he remained unappreciated by the motley crew, who failed to find in him any thing for their admiration. "In that barbarous society if there had been any man who might have been proud in retaining the proverbial dash, perseverance and vigour of the once great Maharatta power, it was Tantia Topi."(c) Never from his birth did he indulge in any acts of cruelty, so familiar with the other courtiers of the Nana. Tantia was about 5ft 6inches in height, stout and well built, possessed a broad fore-head, intelligent face, piercing eagle eyes, beaming with lustre and intelligence and surmounted by a pair of sharply-arched grey eye-brows. The influences of age had told heavily, at the time of which we are speaking, on the hair of his head, beard and whiskers which had all turned grey. "His look and bearing gave promise of prompt action and dogged fixity of purpose"(d) It is also remarked by an Englishman who had the

(a) Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 602.

(b) Col. Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III, p. 483.

(c) Cf. Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 226.

(d) Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 464.

opportunity of seeing him "that the features are intelligent and expressive, denoting decision, energy and ability."(a)

Such was the man who soon distinguished himself as the most consummate tactician in the Mahratta Army and came to be recognised as almost the first military genius in Hindusthan in his day.

TANTIA'S RECAPTURE OF CAWNPORE

The astute Nana Shaheb after his successful escape from Bithoor arrived at Fathepoore, situated within the Lucknow territory, which was then seething with rebellious and mutinous hordes, and put up with Bhopal Sing Chandri. He had with him the family of the Peshwa and several of his lieutenants and their wives. Before he could get the help of the 2nd Cavalry, they had almost dispersed. The 42nd Native Infantry also badly wanted a leader and Tantia Topi was deputed to take charge of them. Tantia at once perceived the sheer impossibility of successfully coping with the English army without any aid of artillery. He, therefore, decided to harass the well-equipped and disciplined enemy by opportune and sudden attacks. Seeing that Bithoor was not well defended, he guarded it carefully with his army. At this time the state of Bithoor was very critical. The person named Atmoria, appointed to take charge of the police station with a view to bring back law and order in the state, was a creature of abominable character and totally unfit for the task. "To the utmost astonishment and horror of the inhabitants, he set about carrying on a series of unheard-of oppression, bribery and corruption."(b) This made the authority to send one Pursun Narayan, an indolent Hindu, to set matters right at Bithoor. Though he received plenary powers, he was incapable of any action or undertaking any arduous task. He proceeded to the post of his duty with a band of horsemen and a bevy of dancing girls. His first business on arrival was not to look after the complaints of the inhabitants against Atmoria, but to throw himself into a bacchanalian orgy. This did not escape the notice of the vigilant lieutenant who was lurking with his army about Bithoor. At the dead of night, when the orgies of Pursun Narayan rose to its highest pitch, some mutineers invaded his camp and killed him outright. But the arrival of the British army caused Tantia Topi to beat a hasty retreat. Very soon Atmoria was hanged on the suspicion of his being one of the butchers engaged in massacring the captives of Berbergurh. Some days afterwards, Tantia Topi was sent at Morar by the Nana to take charge of the rebel troops of Gwalior and of certain neigh-

(a) Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 602.

(b) Shepherd's *Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 174.

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bouring places who had recently arrived there. The Gwalior troops, failing to include Scindia in this nefarious organisation, threatened "the personal safety of the Maharaj himself" but this even was of no avail to wean Scindia from the laudable position he had taken up. "At the commencement of the outbreak, the Maharaja was but twenty-three years of age; but from the completion of his 18th year, he had displayed high qualifications for the government of his country which had greatly benefitted by his rule; and at the same time he had secured the respect of the British authorities in India, by his unswerving friendship as well by his prudent and dignified conduct." (a) Finding such an accomplished and loyal ruler in the throne, the mutineers almost despaired of having their own way and marched in a body until they arrived at Gwalior, where they informed the Nana of their intention of serving his unholy cause. Tantia accordingly was sent there and he succeeded in bringing this mutinous army to Kalpee where he joined forces with Bala Shahib. Learning from that distant place that the relief of Lucknow had caused the English general to leave Cawnpore with his army, Tantia marched straight against Cawnpore to surprise the army stationed there. Tantia Topi had now obtained the materials which he so long coveted. The mutinous contingent were brave and averse to cruelty unlike the Mussulman and Cavalry of Cawnpore. Their able general, though living in a society where he saw every species of cruelty performed, presumably disdained such acts, and now being master of his own acts he impressed on the soldiery his own generous sentiments which received a hearty response from them. "It was resolved that the army was most scrupulously to avoid all oppression and molestation of the natives."(b) The general with the army detested the cowardly soldiery who treacherously murdered the Europeans at the ~~hat~~. The remnant of these debased troops, now finding the army coming to attack Cawnpore, offered their services to the general. Tantia Topi rejected this offer with disdain. In no account the general would permit "any of their leaders to be entrusted with authority or command in the field."(c) They were pronounced to be "a dastardly set," and, instead of being taken into the regular army, were allowed the favour of fighting as common soldiers. This was done because Tantia and his army both attributed the defeat of the Nana to the treachery and murder of the Europeans. On the 24th

(a) Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol II, pp. 187-8

(b) Shepherd's *Cawnpore*, p. 190.

(c) Shepherd's *Cawnpore*, p. 190.

of November, Major General Windham, being informed of the approach of the enemy, hastily entrenched himself with 1200 infantry, 100 cavalry and 8 guns at a place 4 miles off Cawnpore and remained ready to strike any portion of the enemy's army that would venture within the reach of his artillery. On the 26th, after detaching a division of his army to engage General Windham, the Mahratta general himself proceeded with the main army towards Cawnpore. Windham after gaining an easy victory over this weak division soon perceived that he had been deceived. The main army of the enemy had eluded his vigilance and was marching quick towards Cawnpore. The necessity of protecting Cawnpore at any cost caused him to beat a retreat, followed by the enemy. For the night, the English general remained encamped in a plain outside Cawnpore, almost within sight of the hostile army.(a)

In the morning Tantia Topi made such a vigorous attack that Windham was compelled to fall back, hotly pursued by the victorious enemy. This caused such a confusion and terror that all Windham's camp-followers fled in hot haste. The advanced camp with 500 tents, a heavy lot of equipage and baggage and private property valued at £50,000, fell into the hands of the enemy. Even a 24-pounder cannon was left behind in the hurry and confusion of the rout. Windham, however, succeeded after this heavy loss in reaching the intrenched fort which was simultaneously threatened by the enemy.

The defeat of the English and their flight into the fort so terrified the inhabitants that they all rushed towards the fort, thinking that the notorious Sepoys, who formerly had scattered horror and devastation at Cawnpore, had returned again. But the few only who had previously secured passes were allowed admittance and the remaining multitude had to shift for themselves as best as they could. Fortunately the enemy did not follow up their success by making an immediate attack on the fort. In that case, with their superior numbers, they might have gained an easy victory over the English "who were so harassed and knocked up with the day's work that they would have been unable to repulse them."(b) The next day, the 14th Regiment under Brigadier Wilson attacked the enemy's line, but it turned out ineffectual. Brigadier Wilson, Major Stirling, Captains Macrai and Murphy fell in this unfortunate affair which "was a repulse in every sense of the term." The defeated army hastily retired within the entrenchment "and the mutineers

(a) *Vide General Windham's Despatch of 30th November, 1857.*

(b) *Shepherd's Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 191.

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revelled as victors in the city of Cawnpore. Every thing in this place that had belonged to either Europeans or Eurasians was now at their mercy. The booty thus acquired consisted of 10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess-plate of four of the Queen's regiments, the paymaster's chests and a large amount of miscellaneous property."(a)

The same day Brigadier Carlhim suffered also a repulse in an attack against the enemy and had to return with the loss of three officers, 12 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 10 officers and 65 men wounded. (b) Great as the mortification inflicted upon General Windham by the result of his operations on the 27th November had been, it was seriously augmented by the defeat sustained by the troops under Carlhim's command. The prestige of his name was obscured and the vaunted imbecility of British soldiers became for the moment a "subject for derision among the rebels, who exulted in their accidental triumph."(c) Thus the fame of the English general which had shone resplendent at Sedan, before Sebastapool, was tarnished in a two-days' encounter with Tantia Topi. No alternative now remained to him but coolly and calmly to suffer the siege of the enemy, until succour arrived from Lucknow or Allahabad. So Windham despatched messengers to the commander-in-chief at Lucknow informing him of the critical state of the garrison at Cawnpore. On receipt of this sad message, Sir Colin Campbell turned his face towards Cawnpore with the rescued ladies and children from Lucknow and reached that station on the 29th. The rebel leader seeing this large army coming from Lucknow did not waver but cheered the spirit of his brave soldiery by holding out the hope that reinforcement would soon arrive from Oude. The Commander-in-Chief judiciously and prudently refrained for about four days from attacking the enemy, as he scrupulously avoided endangering the lives of his men in a hasty engagement. In the meantime the Nana Sahib arrived at Cawnpore with four regiments of mutinous soldiers. The rebel troops numbered about 15,000 men whereas those of the English came only to about 8000(d). Elated at the dilatoriness of the English and emboldened by the arrival of the reinforcement, the rebel army prepared to attack the fort. Sir Colin Campbell sent an order to General Windham to open a heavy bombardment, on the morning of the 6th of December, in order to engage the attention of the enemy towards that point, and himself

(a) Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 192.

(b) Brigadier Carlhim's Despatch of December 1, 1857.

(c) Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 194.

(d) Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 206, 210.

issued out from another direction and surprised the enemy at a point where they did not expect to meet with any opposition. The strong and stalwart Sikhs were in the van. Nothing could withstand the impetuous attack made by the Sikhs and the Europeans. Completely routed, the rebel troops dispersed on all sides. They were pursued up to the Calpee Coad where an artillery waggon, some ammunition and guns of the enemy fell into the hands of the victors. Nana Sahib had again to fly in hot haste for his life, failing to recover the hidden treasure which he had left behind in a well and in search of which he had come to Cawnpore for the second time.(a) During the short occupation of Cawnpore by Tantia, no acts of cruelty were perpetrated by him or by his order on the inhabitants. No life was taken save those which were killed in the course of the bombardment. The army under the control of that celebrated Maharatta leader behaved like well-disciplined soldiers. They did not sully their hands with innocent blood. Their colours were not tarnished by any wanton act of oppression or cruelty. Not only on this occasion but in no other incident of his subsequent career was Tantia ever accused of cruelty or oppression.

THE AFTERMATH

Seeing the utter frustration of all hopes for the establishment of his sway for a second time at Cawnpore, the Nana separated from his lieutenant. He now had no other thought but to remain in hiding with his numerous family in a place where he would be safe from the avenging wrath of his enemy. Loitering here and there for a few days, he arrived in early February at a small fortified place named Fattehpur Churassie, about 25 miles north of Cawnpore. The English general, Sir Hope Grant, being apprized of this, arrived there on the 16th and found to his great regret that the Nana had fled in anticipation of his arrival. Thus foiled in his attempt, Sir Hope proceeded in quest of the Nana at Meangunge on the 23rd. The skirmish which soon followed became very obstinate and cruel. The rebels fought undaunted, though numbers of them were shot down at every turn. In such sanguine combats of mortal and implacable hatred, the true principles and decorum of war, the respect for age, sex and infirmities could scarcely be observed. The English troops, maddened by success and goaded by their hatred against all brown skin, committed horrors to the real disgust and displeasure of their

(a) *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. XLIV (1857-58) Part III, pp. 235-6 Munro's *Reminiscences*, pp. 169, 170; *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1858, pp. 498-503; Norman's Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow, pp. 33; *Life of Lord Clyde*, Vol. II, pp. 37-40; Adaye's *Defence of Cawnpore*, pp. 35-40; *Indian Sepoy War*, pp. 205, 206.

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officers. The desultory and hand-to-hand fight in the towns was indiscriminate to the last degree. In one place was seen a brave sepoy with his musket ready in hand, with his blooming and young consort beside him helping her mate in the defence of his house. The heroic pair were rolling the next moment on the ground victims to the unerring aim of the sepoy. "He was shot by a man of the 53rd, when the woman with desperate courage snatched up the musket which had dropped by her husband's side, levelled it and pulled the trigger ; but the piece missed fire and her brains were dashed out the next moment." In other places were seen scenes no less harrowing,—mothers lamenting over the dead bodies of their beloved sons, sisters mourning the loss of brothers and wives weeping in bitter anguish over the mortal remains of their beloved husbands. Be it said for truth's sake that these atrocities were, and could, never be sanctioned by the English general, whose noble and proud heart revolted against all such cowardly cruelties. In this way 500 were killed and 400 made prisoners. The prisoners were examined by Major Bruce (afterwards Col. Bruce, C.B., Inspector-General of Police). They were found innocent and were acquitted. For the most part they were towns-people and Zemindari men. They could not be called rebels in the strict sense of the word. With a shout of joy thanking the English General, for saving them from sure death, they started off, but as soon as they were out of sight of the English general, the English soldiers fell on them and commenced killing them right and left. This news so astonished Sir Hope Grant that immediately he started off in person as fast as possible to the scene of horror. His presence saved the lives of the innocent as well as many of those who figured most in this abominable act. Sir Hope says : " I tried to ascertain their crimes, but failed, as they soon mixed with other men in the tents. It was a brutal and disgusting outrage." (a)

In the meanwhile Nana hied to a place of safety, leaving the troubles of war and retreat to his able lieutenant. Consequently the interest of the scene shifted from his camp to that of Tantia's.

G.L.D.

A HOARY INDIAN INSTITUTION

Professor Julius Jolly rightly observes that, in India, law and religion are even more closely connected with each other than in other Eastern countries. Equally so are society and religion so subtly

(a) *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, pp. 230, 233-6.

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interwoven that the existence of one is impossible without that of the other. In olden days the king was considered the authority supreme in matters religious, social, and political, and an object of reverence among the community and people he governed. Crime and its attendant sin were never pardonable and a criminal's position in society was all the more unsafe so long as he denied himself the privileges of repentance and confession before certain councils of the wise, whose formations were subject to the sanction of the king. These councils were known as *Parishads*, and resembled, more or less, to the synods of the ecclesiastics in Mediæval Europe. They were no permanent bodies, but called into being by royal mandate only when there occurred a need for them. The most important function that the *Parishads* had to perform was to try cases of sacrileges and pronounce sentences on the sinners, in accordance with the laws and regulations that are embodied in the codes of *Manu*, *Parasara* and *Yajnavalkya*, the celebrated Hindu legislators of yore. The verdict of these religious corporations took the form of *prayaschitta*, a purification ritual, which is yet a living force in the socio-religious system of the Hindus. Though the existence, to this day, of *prayaschitta* and its efficacy in reforming society may confirm the popularity of these synods among the present-day Hindus, yet I cannot but agree in thinking that religion, as a vital thing has, for the time, been relegated largely to professional champions or to the older heads of conservative India. Hence, the *Parishad*, if it ever exists now, has very little influence over the Hindu, the Brahmin especially, and often than not its verdicts are interpreted as being either defamatory to the parties or damaging to the reputation of the confessor.

A knowledge of the various forms of *prayaschitta* and of the constitution and rules and by-laws that control the administration of the synod is essential to the adequate comprehension of the diverse aspects of its verdicts. A *Parishad* was empowered to enquire into the conduct of every sinner and the nature of sin committed by him. There was no atonement for a conscious sinner, and the synod concerned itself only with unconscious sin. Sin, as Hindus avow, has two functions : that of condemning a man after death to perpetual torture in *Naraka* (hell) and that of accusing him of crimes, during life, before a *Parishad*. A *prayaschitta* has only the power of counteracting the influence of sin and of redeeming the soul of a hopeless criminal before and after death. It is manifest, from this, that the first duty of a *Parishad* was to afford ample facilities for a sinner to enable him to make a complete confession of his

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sins before the wise men constituting a synod. It is ordained in the codes that a sinner commits a double offence by having secrets "held off" from the *Parishad's* purview, and as such, it becomes obligatory on the sinner to admit all his crimes, trivial or mighty, obtain self-consolation, and seek for an asylum whence he will be taken into the folds of his society and regenerated from a life of sin and shame.

The ordinary number of men constituting a *Parishad* is four, with a maximum of five, and a minimum of three. If the usual number falls short, certain alternatives are suggested for the re-organisation of the synod. A single individual, well-grounded in sanskrit philosophy and rhetoric, with a bit of common-sense in him, was enough to constitute a *Parishad*, and at times, two *Agnihotris* (keepers of sacrificial fire) could be selected as substitutes for one of the highest merit. The persons eligible for membership in a *Parishad* were Brahmins only, well-versed in vedic lore, logic, and ethical sciences, of good parentage, and amiable disposition; no *Namadharaks* (false Brahmins), however great, could constitute a synod. The *Parishad* was endowed with certain powers by the king, which could be extended and exercised by the corporation on important occasions; and its number was often-times increased to ten. Better and greater qualifications were required to get admission into the more ambitious and pretentious *Parishads*. No member of any caste other than Brahmins could apply for a seat in the synod and, even of the Brahmins, the following requirements were necessary to qualify themselves as members: He had to be a *Chaturvedi* (versed in four vedas); a *Vikalpi* (one experienced in law and religion); *Angavith* (one able to administer justice, versed in grammar, political art, astrology and medicine); *Dharmapataka* (a sound scholar in the theory and practice of ritualism) and a *Grihasta* (a man of virtue, a house-holder). The ten-person limit held good only when the confessor was a Brahmin and the victim likewise; but if the repentant was a Kshatriya, Vaishya or a Sudra, the number of members of a synod were doubled, trebled, or quadrupled, and the corporations were presided over by the *Acharya* (Brahmin) of the Kshatriya, the Brahmin *Guru* of the Vaisayas, and the *Purohit* of the Sudras. In case of non-Brahminical castemen, the constitution of the synod was not required to be either rigid or certain.

The duties of a *Parishad* were varied, and they were regulated by certain rules and provisions framed in favour of the sinner and the confessor. The admission of a sinner's confession before a *Parishad* amounted to meek submission, and the synod was culpable of

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heinous crime if it did not lay down the form of *prayaschitta* required of him for his repatriation, especially in case of a sea-voyage. No efforts were lacking in the corporations to convince the sinner of the joys of confessions, and the beneficial results accruing therefrom. It is only to a true penitent that the benefits of confession were to be given, and it was the work of the *Parishad* to see if the sinner was in earnest in courting the help of the corporation, and if he conformed to the decorum that the council demanded of him, viz., obedience, a calm temper, devotion to duty, and reverence towards the *Parishad*. The synod was expected to distinguish between the real and the false confession, and ignorance of law on the part of the members could never be an excuse for their failure in prescribing adequate expiatory remedies for one's sin. A verdict wrongly uttered by a man with no experience of the practical side of law and legislation amounted to a sin and recoiled back on him like a curse. According to the *Bodhayana Sutras*, the decisions of the *Parishad* were made to suit the individual's physical strength, his age at the time of the verdict and took into account the time, occasion and the convenience of the sinner and his means to perform the rituals prescribed by the synod. It often happened that the verdict either told upon the health of the unhappy man or made him a pauper at the end of the functions ; hence the precautions offered by the sages of old.

As to the *modus operandi* of the functions to be gone through by the *Parishad* and the confessor, we gather the following details from some of the text-books on the subject :—On the day appointed by the *Parishad* for the sinner to appear before it, he takes a purificatory bath in holy waters, consecrated by vedic hymns, and having partaken of the mixture known as *Panchakavya* prepared with the milk products viz. butter, ghee (clarified butter) curds, grass water, announces himself at the entrance of the place of meeting. The president, who must be a Brahmin, rises from his *asana* (seat) and making a move towards the confessor, meets him half way, when the sinner prostrates himself before the president, according to the strict principles of *Sashtangam* (eight forms of submission). He has then to offer the usual form of salutation prescribed by the shastras, which consists in uttering the names of the founders of his class, the name of the *gotra* (sept) to which he belongs, the *Veda* which he recites daily, the *sutra* which assists him in understanding the *Veda*, and lastly his name and caste affix. Thereupon the *Acharya*, the president, asks him to take his seat on a plank, and then the following are asked of him : "what brings you here, give an account of yourself, and you shall not utter falsehood ; confess all your sins, and the

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Almighty will purify your soul and you shall get salvation." Now the confession comes in, and this being over, he is asked to retire to an adjoining room, and the members of the *Parishad* discuss the various forms of *prayaschitta* to see which of them might serve the ends of justice in the case under consideration. The verdict is conveyed to the penitent through an agent who takes him to a temple of Siva or Vishnu or to any neighbouring shrine and the man goes through the several ceremonials, with the agent officiating as priest, who receives a fixed sum of money as *dakshina* (reward). There is no appeal against the rulings of this religious convention, and the king commits a sin if he ever interferes with its verdicts.

Though the practice of settling religious questions before a *Parishad* has entirely died out, yet certain traces, which bear speaking testimony to its having been in vogue in ancient times, are still to be found in India. On all important religious observances, several people with any pretence to learning and scholarship are invited for the purpose of pronouncing some blessings upon the ceremonies to be held. The most usual of these blessings is uttered in the form of a *mantram* which says : " *Yogyantha sedhirasthu*," (let success attend the efforts of the master). Here the *Parishad's* functions cease. This custom is only a survival of the old practice, and no particular significance is attached to it nowadays, as it is treated as a matter of mere ceremony. While the immense advantages derived from so important an institution as the *Parishad* have been entirely lost sight of, it is still a matter of considerable curiosity to find the *Parishad* prevailing in a very crude form, among the non-Brahminical castes, in most of the Tamil districts of the Southern Presidency.

T. M. Sundaram Aiyar

OCCASIONAL STORY

THE TRODDEN TOE

(A SKETCH)

Marriage bells ! Here I would ask the forbearance of my readers not to fling the book away in a pique at this admittedly tame beginning. I wish I could start with a moonlit night and localise my romance in a ruined *Killa* with its inevitable phantom knight and lady bright. But my story begins with marriage bells, because it so begins.

It was a day in Falgoon : and our house wore a gala-day appearance, for was not sister Bina going to be married that night ?

There was a feast the day following the marriage evening. One could tell it from the very great, but often unnecessary, bustle and commotion as also from the pack of straight-eared dogs keeping kind watch, and the merry crows hovering about in ceaseless wandering and cawing—those uninvited but ubiquitous guests at every Indian feast. The gallant Jehu—the lineal descendant of the knight errant of yore—was brisk at his trade, and was conveying impatient womenfolk to our place in his creaking, patent ‘jaun’, undoubtedly modelled after the Swedish match-box.

On the day we are speaking of, three vehicles of this description were emptying their precious loads of beauty at our door. It so happened that Dada, my grandfather, had directed me to the rather sinecure charge of paying off the hack-drivers. A college-returned ‘Baboo,’ with letters after his name, what else could he be expected to do ? Or, who can say the old darling had not a naughty thing in his head ? A green youth, fresh from College, and oozing with vague and sweet thoughts acquired at second-hand, was in some danger of being made the target for the infamous gold-tipped arrow sent whizzing through a pair of sparkling eyes. But in my case, perhaps Cupid did not take good aim—did he ?—and shot me in my foot ! But that is anticipating matters.

There was I—Sailesh Chandra Roy, B.A., of Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyā’s University—perched on a deal-box eminence under a hospitable tree. It was not, however, of the flowering ilk, dropping

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its fragrant wealth of petals on my benign bowl ; or, it would have been an ideal sylvan nook for the love-sick versifier.

Stirring myself up from a special study of our musical coaches and the mere rats of horses, I progressed towards a driver who was just turning his emptied carriage and paid him the fare. With a merry chuckle the Knight of the Whip shook the reins and covered (tenderly) the horny shoulders of his pets with a soft lash from his Caduceus,—as much as to suggest "We've got our thing : *Chalo !*" Then the chronic amble.....How charming is the philosophy of driving !—I was musing, when a voice called me. It was grandfather from within. I was making up to the door past a carriage that was evidently biding its time to unload. I did not mind it : but with eyes rivetted to the ground, was mechanically repeating in an undertone—

How charming is 'driving' philosophy !
Nor harsh, nor crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But sweet as—

When oh ! my slipp'd right foot lighted on a soft velvety toe. Looking up I saw what you can guess—the fair owner of the trodden toe just emerging from the carriage. I refuse, however, to go into a detailed portraiture of her : She was so like other odd heroines of stories, but yet so different from them all ! This was at least my impression as I took her in at a glance and spinned away for all that I was worth, after mumbling out " sorry-er-didn't see." On through the yard I sped headlong, and, after successfully tripping over a pitcher of curd, ran right against grandpa. Addressing me by an outrageous and libellous epithet—which it is not for me to repeat, but is an experience familiar with those who have to do with grandfathers or grandchildren—he exclaimed, "Bitten by a mad jackal—eh ? You have spoiled my two-rupees worth curd ! I know how to be compensated for this when your sweetheart comes."

ANNUS MIRABILIS

190.— A year elapsed since the little episode in my life. The curtain has gone up on one of the most eventful epochs in Indian history. The people have become animated with new thoughts and aspirations. But with the paternal Government, as with women generally, they say, it has come to be a case either of admiration or of hatred. There is no neutral state of feeling towards any body. Toadyism pays usuriously. Independence of thought is branded with the name of treason. Moral tone was never at a lower ebb in the public services of the State.

THE TRODDEN TOE

A "LOYAL" BELIAL

In our little village, there lived a Rai Bahadur—the very pink and cream of "Loyalty." This superior mortal was a retired member of the Provincial Executive Service, that company of thought-executing underlings of the I. C. S. A fossilized relic of the process of Evolution in the public service, he first began as a street constable, and left with the unique decoration of 'Rai Bahadur' after being pitchforked into the rolls of the divine 'Dipty.' You can imagine the Rai Bahadur without a municipal meeting, but a meeting of any municipality without him—inconceivable!—if there is a question of presenting the provincial ruler with a welcome address. Verily a tower of strength to the authorities, he is a Kohinoor among the Indian members of the District Board. Enquire, and you will not either miss his superannuated self in that august body of the Great Unemployed—the dwarf, 'Honorary' *Avatars* of the mighty Executive.

His only son took his name from a most unpopular I. C. S. who happened to be in charge of the sub-division when Robert Ranjan first drew the Indian air.

Our Robert, after labouring up the dizzy flight of steps leading up to an Indian University, one day stood before its huge portals, but was not bidden entrance even after giving sharp raps. Again, and once again was this task essayed, but the folding doors would not swing back. The 'Versity Durwan must be sleeping the eternal sleep, thought R.; or could he have smoked the *Gunja* and lost his head? Without waiting for a solution of this ever-recurring puzzle, the bedizened Bahadur took his son, dressed in rank European 'plumes', to a high official and recounted all his attainments. He was a valued contributor to the 'English Old Woman,' besides being a precious co-adjutor of his father in his loyalty campaigns. He had made cuttings of his writings from the papers—including the celebrated article "The Cult of Loyalty" which appeared in the 'Weekly Gist.' The official, in appreciation of his work, patted Rob on the back and asked him not to lose heart. He then turned to the father and asked him to treasure up the cuttings for future reference and use; and in a whisper added that he should ask his son to bring him informations from time to time about the insidious ways of the wary Nationalists. For the present he should be admitted into a particular school—"that hot-bed of sedition"; his attempt there should be to wind himself into the hearts of the young fire-brands.

The interview was wound up with elaborate bows—that broke and made records—on the one side, and a curt acknowledgment on

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the other. We leave Robert here for the present, for it is not in keeping with decorum to spy so persistently upon the movements of a young honorable gentleman.

So long we had held the Rai Bahadur beneath contempt. His conduct was never aboveboard, still we rated him at naught. We thought we had muffled his claws by holding out a threat of social ostracism. But we soon outgrew that belief, and an indistinct rumble told us he was at mischief again. This time the villagers were up in arms against him, and, to make a long story short, Rai Bahadur was banned out of the pales of our society.

A SNAPSHOT

With tears in his eyes—and voice—he detailed the circumstances of his ignominy to the Divisional Satrap, who sympathised with him and promised to invite the attention of the Governor of the province. But he was afraid he could promise no prompt and direct relief in this matter. In fact, thought he, the different codes of legal procedure provided no remedy in matters like these. Suddenly brightening up, as though with an inspiration, the Ma-Bap of the Division enquired if he would like to see a troop of punitive police quartered in his village. Wearing a broad smile, the Rai Bahadur could think of only touching the carpeted floor in obsequience. "But then who is the most obnoxious fellow in your village?" The Rai Bahadur named my father. "H-m. He shall pay half the tax," quoth the Huzoor scribbling out a Memorandum. "Be on the look-out, however, and try to catch that fellow for once tripping into the meshes of the criminal law." The Rai Bahadur after a while measured his steps backwards, all smiles and salaams, till he tumbled off against the apparition of a dozing chaprassi, and meekly measured his length on the floor.

THE WAYS OF THE EXECUTIVE

As a corollary to this interview, we had the compulsory pleasure of receiving a band of the promoters of peace as our guests. This happy lot roamed about in the village alleys quite at ease, suggesting the unalloyed freedom enjoyed by those Indian bullocks let loose in the name of the Deity. And thanks to these chartered idlers and privileged peace-wreckers, I once found myself arraigned before the District palladium of justice to answer a charge of theft, the complainant being our Rai Bahadur. The sub-divisional court could not be entrusted with the case, for 'abuse of justice' in it would mean perdition to Mars and its satellites. The case was first posted to the file of a heaven-born 'Juntoo'; but on an application on my

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behalf to a higher Court, it was transferred to a Bengalee officer. And Kanti Babu was known to be an upright man, which is to say much of a state officer in these days of crippled Justice and her maimed Knights.

*

DANIEL JUNIOR

The fated day came, and I had to stand through the interesting unfoldings of the case. Then a week's adjournment, after which the judgment was pronounced. And I got a couple of months' hard labour. In the course of a thirty-page dissertation, the trying Magistrate, Kanti Babu, observed :—

"The accused is a misguided adherent to the so-called "Swadeshi cause," and is notorious for his Nationalistic proclivities By his exertions, this busybody procured social 'boycott' (I use the cant word deliberately) to a highly respected, peaceful and loyal citizen of His Majesty's Empire. But the crowning of all is the matter of the present case. Rai Bahadur.....is an invalid, albeit with deceptive outer proportions and girth, and takes ass's milk for nutriment, and has got a jenny-ass of his own to yield this elixir. On the night of occurrence, the donkey was tied to a post in on outer-shed of the Rai Bahadur's house where witness Karim used to sleep..... Karim says that after two *prahars* of night he heard a low and distant bray, and looking out from the door, which he found unbarred, he perceived a man pulling the creature by the tething rope, and a second driving her from behind. This second man looked like the accused : the first he could not recognise.....
..... Karim did not shout, for he feared violence at their hands. He then went to sleep, and when he re-awoke the ass was roaming at large in the plaintiff's yard..... The defence has urged that the whole incident is improbable, that there could be no sufficient motive on the part of the accused for stealing an ass, and this only to restore same after sometime. Further, it has been sought to establish that there could be no reason why the accused should choose a moon-lit cold night for the perpetration of their nefarious design. I dismiss these arguments as altogether untenable. Either the accused or the chief prosecution witness Karim must be lying ; and I do think Karim's integrity and evidence can be solely relied upon. The motive for the deed is not far to seek. The accused knew that the Rai Bahadur draws his vitality from this asinine source ; and he took her away for a while and milked her off with a view to deprive plaintiff of the morning ration of his life-energy. As to the other point, I hold that bravadoes of the type of the accused have for sometime past been holding the law of the land in defiance and

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the peace and freedom of their fellow-subjects at bay. They selected a light night especially with a view to show a spirit of non-chalance, and establish their superior might. In the cross-examination of Karim, the learned counsel for the defence has made a cunning suggestion that the visions witness saw might be a passing panorama in a mid-winter-night's dream. I protest against such trifling with the dignity of a court of justice, to which a certain section of the Bar shows such predilection. They should shelve their wits while they appear before a constituted authority. However, the answer which this query elicited gives the theory away. Karim speaks on oath that he could not have been dreaming, since he was smoking while the animal was unfastened and taken away. The legal luminary then asked witness, if he was so wide awake at the time, why did not he try to prevent the men in their action? I am perfectly satisfied with the reason which Karim has furnished in reply. He says, he was holding his *hookah* in one hand and with the other he could not run the risk of being assaulted. It is a pity no fitting recognition is made of divinely calm spirits like Karim: with their abnormally cool nerves they deserve to be translated to the chauffeur-dom.....The accused is a graduate; and it has been argued that a man of his attainments and position in society could not possibly be guilty of the crime he is charged with. I regret all the more that I have to try an educated young man on such a disgraceful count. I make note here of the ingenious idea which the learned public prosecutor gave forth on the point. The accused probably was intoxicated with Shakespear, and aspired to the poet's celebrity in respect of a Stratford-on-Avon legend.....I am satisfied that the contention of the plaintiff has been fully established; and having regard to the education and social status of the accused, I think a moderate punishment would meet the ends of justice and satisfy all claims to clemency.....I therefore sentence the accused to only two months' rigorous imprisonment."

An appeal to the higher tribunal was thought more than useless; and I had to go into one of His Majesty's Jails for two months.

* * * * *

Kanti Babu steadily rose in the estimation of the officials as he went down in his own countrymen's eyes. And if rumour goes true, he was signally honoured by an offer of Robert's hand for that of his daughter. But strangely enough, this most flattering proposal was spurned by Kanti Babu! This was indeed a bold position for an executive officer to assume, and was not without its effect. Kanti Babu was posted to an outlying black-fever district; and the Rai

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Bahadur got his C.I.E.—long overdue. Almost simultaneously with this, there appeared a mysterious advertisement in the columns of the "English Old Woman," and the 'Weekly Gist.'—

"Wanted—a bride for a Deputy to-be, of—Gotra, the only son of a Rai Bahadur. Prospects of high Government appointments to relations and honorary offices to the father of the bride. None but loyal fathers-in-law need apply."

And the people, with their naughty instincts, somehow connected our Rai Bahadur with this event. Howbeit, some Hindu officers, it is said, got 'demi-official' missives from high quarters enquiring if they had got unmarried daughters to dispose of. But I cannot vouch for the truth of this statement.

REVELATION

The day of my release came. There must be no 'demonstration'—ruled those who could. I too had signified my disapproval of anything like advertisement and had to come home under a police escort.

One of the first to greet me was 'my sister. Quivering with emotion, she came and thrust a letter in my hand after feelingly touching my feet in silence the most eloquent. The sacred scene terminated sanctified by many a sacred tear ; and it was sometime before I could peruse the letter.

It read as follows :

"Dear Bina,

"You are perhaps the happiest sister to-day. I wish I could be with you to share your bliss. It may sound feigned in the mouth of a girl whose father was, to all appearance, the author of so much trouble to your brother. But may I not seek pardon at your hands, and find it ? If circumstances have conspired against me and mine, will you also on this auspicious day withhold your solace from an aching heart ?

"To-day I would recall the unhappy incidents that have cast a gloom upon our hearth—a shade more than on your family. When the unfortunate case was given to my father, he tried his best to be rid of it, but failed, being even taken to task by the Shahib for this exhibition of what he termed "womanish and timid scruples." Father was asked to sit through the proceedings and the rest would take care of itself. According to instructions he used to report the developments of the case. And on the last day when he went to make over his notes, the Shahib, with a bland smile, reached out a roll of papers. "You have only to have it copied out and put your signature down." In answer to the look of embarrassment of father

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he added, " I am the warden of the conscience of the whole bunch of my deputies : you needn't be anxious for *yours*. I will answer for it before any being."

"So father came away dumbfounded from his conscience-keeper. It was undoubtedly bad of father to submit to this monstrous injustice. But surrounded as he has been all these years by an atmosphere least friendly to the growth of the spirit of independence, one should make some allowance for his drowsy conscience.

"Thus your brother fell a victim to an intrigue in which my father played the part of a 'conduit pipe.'

"The trial was hardly over when the despicable Rai Bahadur approached father with a proposal which he thought an insult. My father then took stock of the situation. Now also came the unwelcome transfer. You know how father has since been suffering from acute mental agony. The last two months he has lived on the coarsest diet like that they supply in jails. Stung with remorse, he has sought penance in the endowment of a charitable hospital with almost the whole of his life's savings. He even contemplates retirement from service as soon as he can afford it, without aggravating their suspicion and ill-will.

"I have often related these circumstances to you—my dear old playmate, and I relate them once more in the hope that they may soften him—your brother—towards us, I mean my father who craves his pardon. It is superfluous to add that I write this on his express wish.

Ever thine
Charoo."

SWEET REVENGE

I know not how, but I felt a secret attraction towards the girl who wrote the letter with her whole heart on the point of the pen, as it were. And a facile pleader of her cause like Bina did not take much time to bring home to my mind the exact grounds on which I ought to forgive and forget. My parents too, strangely, seemed to be in the clique. I was astonished to find melting compassion where I least expected it.

At last, after some time, the question was put—if I could marry Kanti Babu's daughter. Why not?—that would be the noblest revenge of it all !

* * * * *
And Charoo was mine.

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" Why, I had almost forgotten the funny incident of that day !
And who could think it was you ! I did hurt you, Charoo ! "

" Bina knew all. I have been wearing a ring in my right toe
since your imprisonment."

" As a philtre of love—at first touch ? "

Before she could part her lips in reply, I tried to make due
amends.

Quiz.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Indian Review

The September number opens with an account of *The Transvaal Struggle* in which Mr. H. S. L. Polak condemns the Transvaal Government for their inequitable treatment of the Indians. Dr. J. N. Bahadurji makes out a strong case for the re-organization of *The Medical Services* in India. Mr. Seedick R. Sayani names *Some Useful Agricultural Plants* viz. Acacia, Wattle Barks, Sunn Hemp, Camphor, Lemon Grass Oil, Ramie and discusses some methods of their cultivation. In an article on *The Centre and Circumference of Religion*, Rev. Edwin Greaves holds up Christ as a new centre round which he invites the Indians to gather. The recent refusal of the Bombay sheriff to associate his name with a meeting to protest against the arbitrary measures of the Transvaal Government against the Indians has been made the occasion by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao to discuss *Shrievality : its Origin and History*. "Antiquarian's" discussion on the recently discovered *Lord Buddha's Relics* throws no new light on the subject. Mr. S. V. Subrahmanyam follows with an account of Mrs. Besant's *Order of the Sons of India* formed of young men to counteract the influence of extremism in the land, and precedes a rather scrappy account of *Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's Work in England*. Mr. B. V. Kamesvara Aiyer fixes the *Date of the Bharata War* at a much earlier date than 1422 B. C. *Current events* and notes and comments on topics of various interest conclude this number of our Madras contemporary.

The Hindusthan Review

Principal G. S. Arundale of the Benares Central Hindu College opens the September number of the *Hindusthan Review* with an article on *The Problem of Misionary Enterprise* which is remarkable alike for its intelligent comprehension of Indian social problems and for its breadth of views. Mr. Arundale laments over the spirit with which missionaries in their educational institutions view the religions of India and proceeds to observe : "they can not—and for the most part do not attempt to—understand" and warns the Indian parents : "Let Indian parents take warning, therefore, lest their neglect and carelessness bring a heavy retribution upon the generations of the future ; let them make a determined effort to exercise

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effective control over the education of their own children ; above all, let them insist in no uncertain voice that their own faith and the faith of their ancestors shall be given its due place in the training of character." Mr. Saroda Charan Mitra's appeal for the unification of Bengali and Hindusthani Kayasthas seems to us to be too communal in spirit and conflicts with the idea of a consolidated Indian Nation. In the opening instalment of his article on *The Islam of Mohamed*, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh illustrates the barbaric conditions of Arabia before Islam and describes the sources from which the Prophet of Arabia received his religious inspiration in the following way : "Arabia was a sum total of loose and disconnected congeries of tribes and the tribe was the source and the limit of social and political obligation. Beyond the tribe there lay no duty and no obligation either. Political relations were moral ; for morality was confined within the limits of the tribe. Political organization was represented by the corporate feeling which found expression in the exercise of the duties of brotherhood. Within the pale of the tribe obtained the prohibition to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, etc., etc. Beyond it there was no such prohibition. Fidelity to one's kinsman was an imperative duty, apart from any question of the justness of the cause. Outside the tribe there was nothing but constant plunder and unceasing warfare." Dr. S. Swaminadhan's *Theory of Absolute Privilege in our Criminal Courts* throws some light upon the law of defamation in India. Mr. Hemendra Prosad Ghose's denunciation of *Indian Cotton Duties* and Mr. Emanuel Sternheim's *Religion and Life in general* are followed by Mr. P. C. Ia's interesting article on *Evolution of Swadeshism*. The writer describes the different stages of Swadeshism in the following way : "(1) Swadeshi-boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal as a protest against the Partition of Bengal. (2) The transference of Swadeshism from political atmosphere and the infusion into it of a commercial interest. (3) The direction of the energy towards the revival of such industries which have suffered under the keen competition of the modern world and the creation of new industries which will meet the new needs of the country. (4) The introduction of an element of discrimination in the choice of industries to be called into being." Mr. Ia concludes his article with the following observations : "This movement has god's blessing and it shall progress. If it draws back it will be only to pounce forward. If it recoils it will be only to rebound. It is the greatest and grandest heritage which this generation bequeaths to the future sons of the land. As long as patriotism endures, as long as the Indian

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heart beats under the emotion of love, so long will this movement advance unchecked. Swadeshism will work out the emancipation of India from the thralldom of poverty—such is our hope, such our prayer." An account of *The Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the Central Hindu College of Benares and some reviews and comments and discussions on various topics of interest bring this number to a close.

The Vedic Magazine

Prof. Tulsi Ram Misra opens the current number of the *Vedic Magazine* with an interesting article on *Kalidasa's Heroines* in which the Professor observes : " In the entire range of the world's dramatic literature, there is but one female character which can be placed near that of Shakuntala. This is Shakespeare's Miranda. There is in both the same grace, the same delicacy, the same purity, the same innocence.....Both have been brought up ' far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife ' and look like flowers born ' to blush unseen and waste their sweetness on the desert air.' " Mr. Prabhu Dutt Shastri follows with a learned survey of the three chief doctrines of Ideas, of Knowledge and of the Soul as enunciated in their philosophy by *Plato and Sankaracharya*. Miss Vidyawati Devi Seth strongly denounces the movement of marrying widows and quotes Satyarth Prakash to show that Pundit Dayananda was not in favour of widow-remarriage as it is prohibited in the Shastras. " The nectar churned out of the Vedic ocean shall be the revivifying balm that shall restore to a vigorous life societies stricken with spiritual diseases " is, according to the writer of the next article, *The Message of the Arya Sawaj*. " Atma's " continued paper on *Principles of Government*, " A Literary Recluse's " *Thoughts on the Month* and some *Reviews* and Notes on the Gurukula movement close the current issue (Kuar) of this organ of progress.

The Modern Review

The October *Modern Review* opens with Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar's continuation of his translation of a Persian manuscript on the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*. This is followed by a profusely illustrated article on *The Origin of the Kol Tribes and Sources of their Ancient History* by Mr. Sarat Chandra Ray whose eminently interesting articles on the Mundas in the *Indian World* have won for him a very high rank among that small band of devoted scholars

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who are trying their best to throw light on several dark corners of Indian history and ethnology. Mr. Charu Chandra Chatterjee condemns the present *Indian System of Education* as "utterly artificial and cramped in the spirit which it breathes" and suggests that "it ought to yield place to one which should be perfectly natural, wide and far-reaching." In an article on *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company* the writer proves by facts and figures from old official records that "the Indian Government had to spend every year more money on the education of their civil servants who in the three presidencies seldom exceeded more than 100 in number than on the education of their Indian subjects who at the lowest computation must have exceeded fifty millions of human beings." This is followed by Sister Nivedita's review of Mr. E. B. Havell's book on *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. In an article on *The Value of Tradition in Art*, she observes : "Tradition is the accumulation of previous modes or manners of expression crystallized under certain wholesome principles and system of work found on trial to be useful by our predecessors.....There is no phase of modern painting, however startling in its novelty, however audacious and revolutionary in its originality which can not be paralleled among the most universally respected of these 'old masters'." Saint Nihal Singh delivers *A Message America Gave Me for India*. Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerje of the Bengal National College proves that there were *Ships and Ship-Building in Ancient India* by copious references to the ancient literature of India. In view of the rapid progress the little State of Mayurbhanj is making under the enlightened guidance of her present ruler, Mr. Abinash Chandra Chatterjee's description of the various resources, particularly mineral, of that Orissa State seems to us quite opportune. Some Notes by the Editor and Reviews bring this number to its close. The whole number is profusely illustrated, the most interesting being some reproductions of Buddha's likeness in a contemplative mood and of Buddhistic sculptures from the stupa at Sanchi and at Borobudur.

The Standard Magazine

The September number of the *Standard Magazine* opens with an article on *Representative Assemblies in Mysore and Travancore* in which the writer laments that "they are not given any controlling voice or that they cannot exercise any definite powers on behalf

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of the people." "P. T." follows with a discussion on the supreme necessity of the *Higher Education of Indian Girls* and suggests the postponement of the marriage of girls till the sixteenth or the eighteenth year of age. The writer of the pretentious article on *The Mysore Budget* shows that the total receipts of the State was Rs. 241 Lakhs and the expenditure Rs. 211 Lakhs, leaving thereby a surplus of 29·82 Lakhs, and regrets "to find that the Mysore Budget for the next year—a year after very great anxiety of the Agricultural Classes—provides for no measures likely to benefit the people in the farm of increased irrigational works, construction of rail roads, development of co-operative societies and impetus given for weavers and special classes of artizans." In the course of an article on *Students and Patriotism*, Mr. Hari V. Kale observes : "If the saying that the Indians are the King's 'equal subjects' is true, then the Indian students also should be *equals* to the British students in treatment and pursuit of ideals and training." Mr. P. R. Subramaniam dwells upon some points of semblance and difference between *Russian Revolution and Indian Unrest*. Other articles are either legendary or fictitious stories or do not relate to Indian affairs. The Editor closes the number with a few sober comments on some notable pronouncements of *Indian Rulers on Unrest* and of Mr. Gokhale on *Passive Resistance*. Altogether, the *Standard Magazine* is fast getting into a very valuable and interesting periodical.

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

UNITED BENGAL

1. BENGAL

The Alipore trial has been concluded at last, except for the judgment which will no doubt take some time.
The Alipore Case We shall not in the meantime indulge in idle forecasts nor venture to pass any comments on the upshot of the case till the judgment is out. But we cannot allow the closing of the most remarkable trial of the last half-century to pass without a comment. This simultaneous trial of several persons for some political offences of a most serious character commenced over a year ago. It dragged on its weary course at Alipore and was lengthened, as Judge Beacherost found, far more than it would otherwise have been, in order to secure the conviction of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose who was set up by the prosecution as the head of the entire movement. The charges against him and several others failed, but some of the accused were convicted and two sentenced to death. The case came up before the High Court on appeal and was heard by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Carnduff for about two months. To allow the case to be completed the Judges had to stay on for about a month after the long vacation had commenced.

The long trial of this remarkable case, initiated after the murder of two ladies in Mozafferpur, has been marked in its course by bloody events which are out of the ordinary run of political trials ; and two men, one an approver and the other the public prosecutor of Alipore, have had to pay the penalty for the assistance they gave to the prosecution by violent death. The root of such striking events have, let us hope, come to a close and the end of this eventful trial will, it is to be expected, not be marked with deeds of blood. This expectation is encouraged by the fact that Mr. Norton, the prosecuting counsel, about whose safety the gravest apprehensions were entertained, has safely left these shores bound for Europe. We hope the money that the Government of Bengal have put into his pocket as his fees in this case will enable him to have a good time of it in Europe till the remaining days of his life.

A word may be said without impertinence about the way in

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**The Conduct of
the Trial**

which the trial has been conducted, irrespective of the issue of the trial in the High Court. About the conduct of the case by the prosecution at Alipore we had occasion to make some strong remarks some time ago. But though the Judge seemed to show a certain amount of weakness in allowing the prosecution counsel to say and do things which ought not to have been permitted, in his judgment he showed a great deal of strength and independence. The Judgment of the lower court is at several parts certainly open to question : but no one can deny the fairness and freedom from bias with which Mr. Beachcroft sifted the evidence in the case. The amount of judicial equanimity that has been shown by the Judges hearing the appeal has been still more remarkable. Sir Lawrence Jenkins has already endeared himself to the people and the bar by his many qualities of the head and heart and has revived the confidence of the people in the absolute administration of justice. His profound erudition and strictly judicial mind, no less than his perfect evenness of temper and unsailing courtesy, which, in him is accompanied by a very large element of strength, was very necessary in the important and highly sensational state trial under notice. The voluminous evidence of all possible sorts, unparalleled perhaps by any other case in Calcutta, wanted sifting by a comprehensive judicial head like his, and the searching enquiry with which he has pursued every question that was argued at the bar has called forth the unstinted admiration of every body. Mr. Justice Carnduff, although new to the Bench of the High Court and not having a very long judicial experience out of it, has also shown admirable judicial temper and erudition. In fact, the trial has been marked with a calm, patient and scrupulous anxiety to sift the truth which the gravity of the charge and the nature of the materials to be gone into very much demanded. Mr. C. R. Das, who had already made his mark by the very able defence of Mr. Aurobinda Ghose in the first Court, conducted the appeal of most of the prisoners with a patience, ability and calmness that will command the confidence of the profession and the public in him as a Counsel. In short, whatever the upshot of the trial may be, no one can possibly complain that there has been any hurry or the faintest trace of a prejudice in the long proceedings in the High Court.

There are signs of a returning calm in the political condition of the country if we are to judge by the attitude of the Government of Bengal with reference to the Police Bill. As the Hon'ble Mr. Devaprasad Sarbadhikary points out in

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the very elaborate and able addendum to his note of Dissent the postponement of that measure for a fuller discussion and the inclusion in it of some very healthy amendments were not wrung out of an unwilling Government, but the officials, and notably the Lieutenant-Governor, was always ready to meet popular demands half-way. A notable illustration of the changed spirit of the Government is also to be found in the report of the Select Committee which expressly states that such and such an amendment has been accepted at the instance of this or that public body of Indians. This is a new departure, for, for a long time past, the attitude of the Government has been to affect a supreme disregard of the opinion of these public bodies and even when their suggestions were adopted it was made to appear as if the Government were doing the thing on its own account without any suggestion from outside, least of all from the Indian Association, whose suggestions are referred to more than once by the Committee. This, as well as the subsequent postponement of the measure, shows a very commendable desire of taking the people into its confidence which, if sincerely worked upon, will surely lead to happy results. Now that the Bill has been postponed and the people have some sort of an earnest of the wishes of the government to consult the convenience of the people as they, and not the government, understand them, the public will certainly proceed to consider the Bill anew in a better spirit and with a greater amount of care than they have been able to bestow upon it before this. Mr. Devaprasad Sarbadhikary's able supplementary note shows us how time and care may assist us in finding new light on questions which seem so very complicated. For Mr. Sarbadhikary has by ransacking the history of law and legislation succeeded in showing the grave legal flaws in the inception of the Bill and has made some very pertinent comments on most of its objectionable features in the light of a study of parallel literature and history. He has also managed to put in a timely word on the vexed question of the right of public meeting which has often been ruthlessly violated but which has unfortunately never yet been tested in a competent court of law. All that he says shows that there are new lights to be obtained by study and careful consideration and the Bill, the magnitude of which is amply proved by the Hon'ble member, ought not to be rushed through without the greatest deliberation. We congratulate the Government on its good sense in postponing the Bill, and Messrs. Radha Charan Pal and Devaprasad Sarbadhikary on the bold stand for the people's rights that they have made.

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The appointment of Mr. Ali Imam as the Standing Counsel of Bengal is a just grievance with the Calcutta Bar as well as to the Hindu public. The Calcutta Bar, for aught we know, has done nothing to forfeit the confidence of the Government, and unhappily in the selection of both the Advocate-General and the Standing Counsel its claims have been ignored. It is also unfortunate that a Mahometan gentleman who has thoroughly identified himself with political agitation should have been offered one of these offices. As regards Mr. Ali Imam's claims we have not a word to say either for or against them ; at any rate, he is not so dark a horse as many of his co-religionists who have been recently favoured with Government patronage. What strikes us as the most inexplicable feature of this appointment is the political aspect of it. When a Hindu turns out into a political agitator, he is tabooed and voted incompetent for every high office ; when a Mahomedan takes vigorously to politics he is picked up by the Government for preferential treatment. We do not believe that Sir Bampsylde Fuller's 'favourite-wife' theory holds good in every province of India, far less in Bengal. But the ethics of these appointments remains a puzzle to us and we are prepared to offer a prize for its satisfactory solution.

We admire the tactfulness, and generally commend the spirit, of the recent appeal of the Government of Bengal to attain the *dear* object of keeping the students away from active politics. The appeal is conceived in a sympathetic spirit and appreciates the response on the part of teachers and parents of boys to a similar appeal issued on the 7th of August last. Our "Friend," the *Statesman*, is unwilling to forgive the Government of Sir Edward Baker for selling it away like this, for it has been the contention of that journal that the last celebration was attended mostly by students—which is *not* a fact. We are glad to see that Sir Edward Baker has the courage to acknowledge the truth. While the Lieutenant-Governor has been doing the graceful part of the act, the University has been engaged with the task of sweeping with a new broom. If the spirit displayed by the Government appeal is likely to arouse a sympathetic response, the action taken by the University is likely to be met by strong resentment. The University has recently passed a resolution and issued circulars prohibiting all boys from attending the meeting of the 16th of October. This, taken along with the recent action of the University in calling for explanations from two first-grade colleges on account of two Professors taking

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an active part in political meetings, shows what the University means to do and what it is coming to. We must say it is a dirty piece of work that the Calcutta University under masters have taken in hand. A very pertinent question here arises as to what the University has to do with politics. Granted that students ought not to take any active part in politics in the interest of the general community as well as in their own interest, how does the activity of the University come in? We confess we have no very clearly-defined notion about the functions of the Calcutta University with reference to our boys, but it certainly does not seem that the University undertakes to guide the entire life of the boys. It does at times talk about discipline, but that blessed word has a significance of its own and does not always mean abstinence from politics. Does the University take account of how the boys spend their lives otherwise than with reference to politics? Do its police proctors ever set their foot within theatres in which public women appear before the footlights and see how many students attend them and how they behave themselves? Do they watch the city brothels and 'empty houses'? Does it ever care two straws to provide healthy recreation for its boys? Has any thought been ever given to the proper guidance of the lives of these young men? To all these questions, the answer is an emphatic *no*. Then, we hold, the University has no right to unreasonably restrict the liberties of our boys or to lay hands upon the discretion of those who are charged with the regulation of their lives, only to assist the Government in weaning our boys from politics. It is an unholy alliance that learning has made with the forces of coercion, whose fit engines are a corrupt police and a pampered Intelligence Department.

We have some pertinent questions to ask in this connection.

Some Pertinent Questions Did not the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University himself take an active part in politics in his college days? Did not he identify himself as an enthusiastic Nationalist when the Ilbert Bill controversy was raging high and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea was sentenced to two months' imprisonment on a charge of contempt of court? Did not he address public meetings condemning the proceedings of the High Court in that trial? We challenge the Vice-Chancellor to say *no*.

Needless to say we have not a shadow of misgiving when we refuse to believe in the *bonafides* of the official-ridden University whose unofficial members are more than half of them under perpetual bondage of vested interests dependent on the powers that be. Even

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The Reformed University and its Extended Functions supposing that the action of the University can be justified with reference to the boys we wonder by what logic we may be required to trust in the justice of its action in respect of Professors—that is on the untenable hypothesis of good faith. Here are two professors, responsible gentlemen of irreproachable character, respected by their students and colleagues alike, who have been asked to explain their conduct in delivering speeches in meetings not of students but of the public at large and which students may or may not have attended. The speeches delivered by them are not suggested to be seditious, but they are believed to be in support of boycott. The institutions they belong to are not aided but wholly independent. The teachers themselves have perfect liberty to act according to their political convictions outside their classes. What right has the University, under these circumstances, to demand explanations of their conduct? On what principle can their actions be regarded as subversive of discipline, give the word what elasticity you desire? We say that this interference with the rights of Professors is outrageous and is perhaps unthinkable outside India. Mr. Gokhale has of late become a great apologist of the Government, and many a sermon on this question has turned upon his recent speech at Poona. We should like to have his opinion on this action of the Calcutta University. Perhaps he may find a way to support it, for it was when he was a Professor at the Poona Fergusson College that he made the speeches in England that so nearly got him into a tight corner. We wonder, however, if he could defend the sneaking meanness of the University in running in the smaller fry while sparing Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, the soul of politics in Bengal? By the bye, a question occurs to my mind whether the University ever called to account any professor who was a drunkard or who had misbehaved himself in public? But if a census of the morals of our professors were taken, it is quite on the cards that some may be found who have been guilty of outrageous conduct in public places—much more heinous than active participation in current politics. Oh, the logic and fairness of the Calcutta University! Was it for all this that Lord Curzon officialised the University by his epoch-making Act? Then, indeed, the Act has been justified with vengeance.

The 4th anniversary of the Partition Day or what our Extremist friends choose to describe as the Nation Day will long be memorable in the annals of Bengal. For on that day, the real leaders of United Bengal

The Last 16th of October Celebration

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definitely made a stand on behalf of democracy and went with their hats round for the necessary expenses of the Federation Hall to the people at large. No Maharajahs or Rajahs were approached and none of their names figure in the list of the donors that has been published. For the first time in the history of Bengal the popular leaders have tried to stand on their own legs and leave the 'natural leaders of society' severely alone. Here is an object-lesson for all other provinces of India to take to heart. We are now in the parting of the ways and must no more bend our knees to Baal for temporary sops. If in future the people 'with stakes in the country' should care for any co-operation with the people, they must come and see their leaders instead of ever expecting them any more to kow-tow before them.

The collections made on the 16th of October last for the Federation Hall may not have been large or adequate for the purpose, but it is significant that every pice of it came from the pocket of the middle classes and was contributed by people who felt a need for it, and who was anxious to have a People's Place in the city of Palaces. 30000 Rupees paid and subscribed for on the spot is merely the earnest of the people's determination to have the structure erected as a symbol of union of the sundered divisions of Bengal and when the people is bent on doing a thing they will certainly not allow the money to stand in the way. We, therefore, hope that the leaders will send out their appeal far and wide and arrange for the collection of funds from all the moffussil districts for the purpose. I know that there is a keen desire in the moffussil to help the cause and an organisation ought to be started at once to see that the appeal reaches every home and cottage in Bengal.

Nobody can say at this stage what the Federation Hall will be like, but the promoters have in view a hall large enough to hold meetings of the Indian National Congress if and when needs be, several reading rooms, a large library of Indian political and historical literature and a large gallery for portraits and busts of heroes and worthies in every line of national activity. From the point of beauty as well as of utility, it is intended to be the principal centre of attraction in the first city of the Empire—a temple, in the language of the late Mr. Anandamohan Bose, "raised in honour of our common motherland, not only for national union, but also for national progress." We hope United Bengal will not stint her purse for the consummation of this great idea.

The demonstration in Calcutta on the 16th of October last was

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Mr. A. Chaudhuri's Speech presided over by Mr. A. Chaudhuri, perhaps the most remarkable personality in the Calcutta Bar

for his practice, education, general culture and discriminating patriotism. Mr. Chaudhuri has our sincerest congratulation for the very beautiful speech delivered and for the firm stand made by him on this occasion. There are times when it is no good beating about the bush and one must come forward and speak out. We are glad Mr. Chaudhuri has availed himself of this opportunity to give a bit of his mind to all parties connected with Indian politics today—rulers, loyalists, Congressmen, Bombay Politicians, Mahometans, extremists and students—and to none either too strongly or too sufficiently. To the people Mr. Chaudhuri cries patience :—"A nation's destiny is in its own hands, we alone can make or unmake ourselves. We cannot be made, or unmade, by any other human agency. We alone are the masters of the situation. Present environments may limit our activities, may for the time circumscribe the sphere of our work, but they are in their nature variable, not by any means permanent factors, which can create or control our future. Once we realise that fact, and act upon it, we are a nation." To the Government he has a lesson to offer :—"We have no desire to perpetuate the memory of a great wrong but to assert a fundamental principle of Government, that you are bound to consult and take into consideration the opinions of the people concerned, that no Government has the right to ignore, or put aside the wishes of the people." To the wise men of the Western Presidency and their henchmen elsewhere, Mr. Chaudhuri throws out some broad hints. "If the Congress is to be a choir for the glorification of a pantheon of its own, we shall have none of it." Again : "In a priest-ridden country, we are not prepared to add to the hierarchy. Do not deride the people who fail to see the finger of Vedavyasa in the *Geeta* of the Congress." But he asserts his position as a true representative of the Bengalee people when he openly comes out with the following warning : "Bengal is not likely to be scared by scowls. Because Jove nods, we are not likely to go under." We regret we have not space to refer to the other good points of this valuable address. But we cannot conclude this note without making a present to our readers of the following wholesome advice offered by Mr. Chaudhuri to his countrymen :—"Let us go forth amongst the poor of the land. Break the fetters of caste. Rise above the tyranny of prejudices. Be men, learn and teach little handicrafts. Let each cottage in the land learn some industry. Create a new brotherhood, greater and

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nobler, firmer in faith and sturdier in resolve, the true sons of our glorious motherland. Go forth amongst the depressed classes, take them by the hand. If you have wealth and education, share it with them. Political power will come in the train of material prosperity."

II. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

When they speak of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, one is inevitably reminded of the happy trio of officials who rule the roost at Dacca and Shillong. And so long as these triple pillars of that Government—and incidentally of good Sir Lancelot—are there in one name or another, minor official changes evoke not even a passing interest. Hence, the retirement of the Hon. Mr. Henry Savage, C.S.I., has failed to attract public notice. But we believe, the exit of Mr. Savage is not altogether devoid of interest, inasmuch as it removes a discordant element from the Eastern Government. Not that we mean to invest Mr. Savage with any very transcendental ideas about Government, but we have a suspicion that private and other mysterious reasons made him stick in the throat of his compeers. Supersession in office may have made him sour, and also perchance he could not fall in with the young experimenters in statecraft who looked askance at him as steeped in antiquated notions. However, we have to respect every one's skeleton in the cupboard. We have reasons to believe that the whilom President of the Chowkidari Commission, who did not yield to any I.C.S. in his derision of the popular movements, came to realize before his retirement the truth and justice in much of what the people allege against Police ways. We hope, now that Mr. Savage is back home, he will not forget the part played by the police in his son's case and the lesson derived therefrom, but would bring the vast and unique experiences of his eventful career to bear on the Indian question for the good of the Indians,—not certainly as the redoubtable Mr. Rees understands it, or rather deceives himself that he does.

At Barisal, Sir Bampfylde Fuller spoke of the "F.A. Degree." And we apprehend we were almost in sight of a Bid for a 'Varsity Shaistakhani University. But our fears were quelled that time when the Knight "left his love to loss, and fled himself apace." Still, we thought an L.-G.-ship is not worth much without the Chancellorship suffixed to it—very much like India without Ceylon—a Corporation without its motor cars. And how could the Lat Sahib put up with this minced Majesty? And we

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verily believe Sir Lancelot is for once indulging in the god-like sin, of a desire for greatness, in this respect. The squabble in which the E. B. and A. Government and the new University—both of them Curzon-cubs—are at present engaged seems to be a good instance of a dog eating a dog, and is ostensibly about the affiliation of the Rajshahi College. The Provincial Government has not seen its way to accept in good grace certain restrictions in affiliation sought to be imposed according to clearly laid down principles of the University, and has persuaded the Government of India to champion its cause. On the interference of the India Government, the University have made the following observations :—

"It was open to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, if not satisfied with the extent of affiliation originally recommended by the Syndicate and Senate, to send in a representation to the Syndicate, explaining in what directions and on what grounds further affiliation was claimed by them for the Rajshahi College ; such a representation would have been immediately attended to by the Syndicate which, if needful, would have instituted further enquiries and, eventually, made a new recommendation to the Senate. In choosing to make, as it appears they did, a representation direct to the Government of India, the Government of the Eastern Bengal and Assam thus have failed to keep within the provisions of the Act ; and willingness on the part of the Government of India to pass orders on representations reaching them in this irregular way will, the Syndicate apprehend, constitute a grave danger to University discipline."

Since the stricter rules of the reformed Calcutta University came into operation, the E.B. authorities have found much gall and wormwood in them, and, if we are informed aright, have hereunto pestered Lord Minto's Government about trifles. The E. B. & Assam Government has all along imagined itself to be wronged, and perhaps comparative statements of examination-results formed not the least feature about its representations to Simla. It never, however, thought of derogating itself by approaching the University direct, but like the spoilt child that it is, always whimpered to the Supreme Government. And Simla has at last thought fit to put in her oar, perhaps in order to avoid the greater evil of a renewed pulling for something material : for there is in all this a good deal more than meets the eye. Who can say what the case would have been if Sir B. had a University to back him up in the Serajgunj muddle which cost him his *guddee*? Indeed, the advantage of having a University of our own is second to none, and comparable only to the supreme use of a Chief Court that would put Sir Lawrence Jenkins's hooked nose out of the joint ! Without meaning to disparage the attainments of the individual members of any branch of the Public Service, we may say with safety that Eastern Bengal and Assam has been the Ark of mediocrities and the *bourgeois*, among the Civil and the Educational officers. Besides when Executivism tramps the soil, and the Provincial Educational Service is almost a training ground for the Executive Service—for we find a regular annual flux from the one to the other,—and where the fat-berthed Educationists—adepts in Jingo manners themselves—devote most of their attention to "discipline" and "manners," and very little to any real work of teaching, a separate University would be a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

It has now become quite a fashion with Young India to consider
THE REVIVAL OF INDIAN MANHOOD politics as the supreme factor in national regeneration and to look askance at all social reform. Patriotism has been identified with political enthusiasm and a bias for traditional institutions of a bygone age. Social reaction goes hand in hand with revolutionary political ideas among educated Indians of today, and very few persons ever care to inquire if that is how all nations of the West have become great and puissant. The lessons of sociology are cast to the winds and the best teachings of history carefully ignored. The idea has gone deep into the heart of the people that it is politics alone that can save it from death, and that with political progress will inevitably come social advance and industrial revival.

In a heterogenous and degraded community, the task of social reform is a stupendous problem and difficult to face ; while under a common rule and a common sovereign politics is an easy game for all to play with immunity. In politics, we have to deal with an impersonal foreign rule ; in social reform, we have to fight and quarrel with our own people. Politics demands ordinarily very little sacrifice from its votaries and no very persistent endeavour ; not so with social reform, whose advocates must at every step be prepared to risk and lose much and be always on the alert. Hence there is a world of difference between political and social activity in India and hence also the wide berth given to it by Young India.

But things cannot long remain where they are. We cannot build up the fabric of a united and strong Indian Nation with the rotten constituents that now go to make Indian society. Nor can we put off indefinitely the solution of those social problems which have, from time immemorial, been the sources of our weakness and degradation. A life of social atrophy is incompatible with a vigorous political growth. So, look the thing from whatever point of view we may, it is ultimately to healthy social life that we must look forward for a rejuvenated and regenerated India.

Before we can think of any remedies it is necessary to inquire of the social ailments the Indian body-politic is at present suffering from. In the first instance we find that caste and custom have wrought incalculable mischief in our society by raising high barriers

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between all sections and classes that go to the making of the Indian people today. They have divided into atoms classes of people which should have been consolidated into a united community. In the next place, we find the men of India deeply immersed in ignorance and superstition and her women-folk used as so many mechanical toys. Religion has given way to Custom, and Morality to communal instincts. Somewhere even cruelty and inhumanity have usurped the higher functions of Religion and Morality, and there is none too strong in this land to effect any breach in the citadel of Tradition.

Should things continue in this way for evermore? Now and then, a Rammohan Ray or a Iswarchandra Vidyasagar has raised his powerful voice and pen against social iniquities of various kinds. But, to tell the truth, all such sporadic efforts have not yet been able to touch even the fringe of Indian social life. Their voice has been like a voice crying in the wilderness—not many people have heeded to them. Rammohan Ray's church of social advance and personal purity has itself failed to furnish in India a good example of a reforming agency, and Iswarchandra Vidyasagar's efforts to relieve the hard lot of Indian widows have met with very scant consideration in the land of his birth. Nor have the efforts of a Dayananda Saraswati or a Mahadeo Govind Ranade met with more signal success in their own or any following generation.

Why is this so? Why have all efforts at social reform met with such uniformly cold response from the Indian people? We are quite sure there is no mystery about the answer, for anybody who has the time to ponder over these questions will at once be able to point out to our untrained reasoning and colossal ignorance as the only explanation of the situation. We have not learnt to discriminate between custom and reason, because our faculty of reasoning has never been trained to inquire into anything: we have taken everything on trust from the days of Manu, or earlier if possible. Our people for generations together have so slavishly followed a selfish and narrow priestcraft that we have quietly permitted them to turn such brutal institutions as *suttee*, infanticide, *Thuggee*, human sacrifices, hook-swinging and many others into religious rites. Customs the most revolting, such as using other people's wives with the sanction of religion, have passed muster in several parts of this vast peninsula. Asceticism of a most violent character are still in vogue with various religious sects. We have been kept in such utter darkness by all the social powers that be that we hardly know a good thing from an evil in these days. The light of knowledge

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

has been persistently shut out from every Indian cottage for several centuries ; and with abysmal ignorance and undeveloped reasoning no nation in the world would have had a different story to tell.

We want, therefore, education first and above all,—education for men and women alike. Both the sexes must be educated, if not to an uniform standard, but sufficiently to know a good from an evil and to think out the ordinary problems of life for every one's own-self. Once the reign of reason is established and absolute darkness dispelled from our homes, the other reforms are bound to follow in the ordinary process of time.

Education will effectively break all barriers of caste and custom everywhere as it has done among the middle classes of India now and will set everyone to put his house in order. Caste is perhaps the most strong dividing line ever invented by man to prevent the coalescence of class with class. Once its fetters are broken, the golden dream of an united Indian Nation will not take a long time in realisation. But that is not enough. The intelligence of Indian women has to be cultivated and her position very much elevated and improved. She has to be taught to read and write and think in order to be able to guide domestic affairs independently of any direction, to be a fit companion of her husband and to be the guardian-angel of her children. Thereby only can she prove herself a tower of strength to the social organism and to the body-politic, and be saved from all those cruelties of wifehood and widowhood to which she has been a subject since the decadence of Buddhism in India. The hard lot of the Indian widow, the helplessness of the Indian wife, the marriage of girls of very tender age and the life of shame openly embraced by the *deva-dasis* in the South—all these loudly cry for mending and the only thing on earth that can mend them effectively is education. If women will depend upon the mercy and grace of men to improve their status, we are afraid they will have to wait till the doomsday. They must take their own salvation in their own hands to which education alone will show them the way.

As with women, so with our depressed classes. Their condition urgently need redress and nothing will give them so effective a lift as education. Education is an invaluable passport to every decent human society, and no educated man can be kept out in these days from any society only because he is a *pariah* or a *namasudra*. The days of churlish inquiry into one's pedigree and family have happily passed away, and, in Bengal, among the middle classes at least, caste and pedigree have ceased to matter very much. The more we

THE INDIAN WORLD

can spread education among all the lowly sections of Indian mankind and draw all classes of people into one common fold, the more eagerly we take the lower and nondescript classes by the hand, the more intimately we mix with them and extend to them the amenities of our higher social life, the more we shall strengthen the bonds of Indian nationality and the foundation of the Indian social fabric.

Not, however, by only raising the condition of the depressed classes or by elevating the condition of Indian womenkind may we hope to be a great and good people. Greatness in a people is no good if it is not accompanied by real goodness. Our ambition is not to be great in the sense in which some European nations consider themselves great. We must be great and good at the same time and must be an example unto others. There is much in our Eastern life which the Western peoples can learn to their profit and none of this must we abandon for any earthly consideration. A life of plain living and high thinking, a life of personal and sexual purity, of transparent honesty, of devotion and piety—these are high Indian ideals which have given a distinctive impress on Indian civilisation and should never be bartered for all the goods of the world. We earnestly appeal to our countrymen never to lose sight of these ideals when accepting Western ideas and eschewing Eastern evils and vices. The manhood of the Indian Nation lies that way, and towards the reconstruction of society on these lines we must look forward for our political as well as social salvation.

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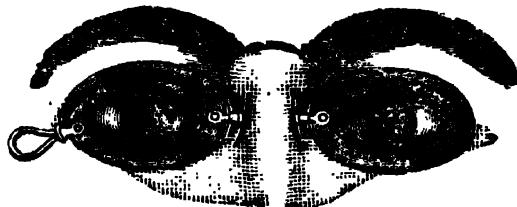
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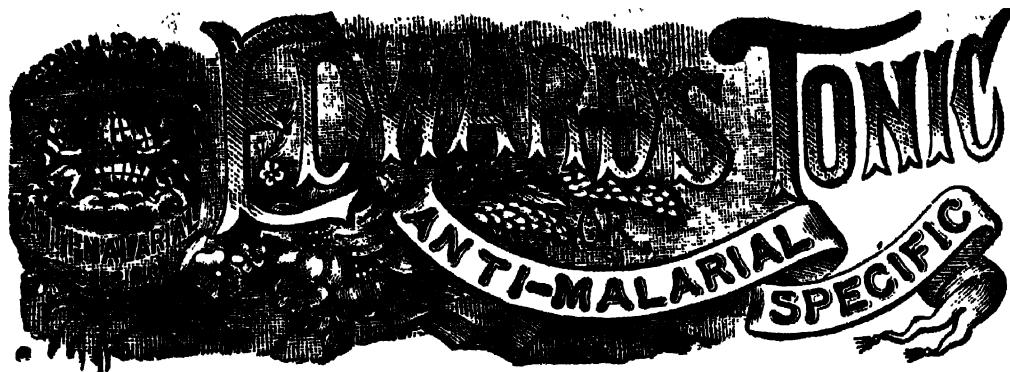
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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. X]

NOVEMBER—1909

[No. 56

DIARY FOR OCTOBER, 1909

Date

1. Some persons hauled up as accused in the Midnapur Bomb conspiracy case serve notices on Mr. Weston, Lalmohan and the Moulavi claiming damages varying from 10 to 50 thousand respectively against each of them.

2. The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer is appointed a Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court.

4. Opening a course of lectures on "Indian Institutions and Conditions" at the London School of Economics, Sir Courtenay Ilbert gives a *resume* of the history of Indian Law.

5. The London Branch of the Muslim League submits to Lord Morley a review of the present situation in regard to Mahomedan electoral claims, describing Mr. Ali Imam's claim as "condemned by overwhelming weight of Muslim opinion as failing to secure adequate representation to the Mahomedans."

Owing to an altercation over the high prices charged for fish between the fishermen and some Bengalee youngmen at Benares, the latter open a fish stall, lowering the prices for fish to the considerable relief of the fish-eating people.

An Indian Chamber of Commerce is established at Cawnpore to represent the views of the Indian merchants whose interests are not always identical with those of the European merchants.

7. The Government of Bengal issues a resolution urging the attention of guardians of boys against the evil of their attending political meetings in connection with the Partition-day celebration.

The orthodox Sikhs of Lahore submit an address to the Viceroy requesting him either to drop the proposed Anand Marriage Bill altogether or to modify it by providing further safeguards than have already been made.

The Madras Trades Association publishes a letter impressing upon the Kolar Goldfields Volunteers their obligations to place their orders in this country instead of in England.

The report of the Kasauli Pasteur Institute for the year, 1908, describes the Institute as "the second highest of its kind in the world" and declares a record percentage of cures, only 26 out of 1400 persons treated during the year having died.

In the Commons, replying to Mr. Gooch who desired that deported persons should have opportunities to prove their innocence as provided under the new Egyptian Law, the Master of Elibank said Lord Morley could not promise to amend the Regulation of 1818.

8. In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Hart Davies, the Master of Elibank stated that the question of abolishing the distinction between Indians and Europeans was receiving the attention of the Government of India and pending the receipt of their recommendation he would defer any statement.

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A report from China, published today, shows that there is a renewed demand for Indian opium and that prices are stiffening at Hongkong and Sanghai.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., the Labour Leader, arrives in Bombay to study the situation in India.

9. Mr. Gandhi, in a lecture before the New Reform Club in London, said that the struggle in the Transvaal was second to none in the world and added that passive resistance required greater courage than the battle-field.

The Bombay Government Resolution published today reviewing the Land Revenue Report for 1907-8 indicates a distinct set-back to the material prosperity of the Province.

In reply to the refusal of the Protestant Syrian Members' Congregation at Kayttayam, in Travancore, to sit on equal terms with the converts from the low castes in the Church, the Bishop makes separate arrangements of seats in different places of the Church.

A rule is issued by the District Magistrate of Thana against Mr. Krishna Kashinath Phadke, Editor of the *Hindu Punch*, why the Printing Press used for the printing of the *Hindu Punch* should not be forfeited to the Government for the publication of two articles inciting violence against the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

A meeting arranged in honour of Mr. Paranjpe, ex-editor of the *Kal*, is prohibited by the District Magistrate of Poona.

10. An Indian South African League is formed in Madras to carry on a continuous and active agitation in connection with securing redress of South African grievances.

11. Sir A. T. Ritchie is appointed Under-Secretary to the India Office in succession to Sir A. Godley retired.

At Chandpur in E.B. & Assam the Magistrate issues an order under section 144 Cr. P. Code prohibiting any meeting or procession in connection with the Partition Day.

A daring robbery and murder is committed in a train, running near Jaidebpur in the Dacca Section of the E.B.S. Ry., some unknown persons having got into the train while in motion and decamped with Rs 23,000 sent by a Naraingunge merchant. Two men in charge of the money are stabbed.

12. By a Notification dated today, the Calcutta Anusilan Samity is proclaimed unlawful by the Government of India.

The Malaria Conference opens its sitting today at Simla.

The Financial Statement of Travancore for the past year ending in 15th August is submitted today showing a surplus of 5 lakhs of rupees.

13. The Natal Indian Immigration Commission reports that the abolition of Indian labour would seriously affect the industries of the country and recommends the establishment of a bureau for free Indians.

An organisation of Indian merchants, traders and other business men is established today at Madras under the name of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

14. The Upper India Chamber of Commerce address a letter to the Government of the United Provinces on the subject of the protective tariffs imposed by certain Native States and point out that they would seriously restrict the investment of capital in the case of industries which might be exposed to the competition of undertakings protected by such tariffs.

53 persons are arrested at Patiala on charges of sedition, including many high officials of the State.

11 bids, three under 2 lakhs and the rest above that amount, are made for the collection of the royalty on jade and amber in Mandalay, the highest bid, Rs. 2,64,800, made by a Chinaman, Chaw You, being accepted.

A meeting of the Bombay Presidency Muslim League held at Poona express "surprise, deep disappointment and profound regret" at the refusal of the Bombay Government to allow Mahomedans to present an address to the Viceroy during his coming visit to Bombay.

DIARY

15. A father and mother are prosecuted by the Madras Police at the instance of the "Society for the Protection of Children" for selling a girl-child of 4 months, the mother having stated that the child was born at an inauspicious hour and was sure to bring ill luck and the father confirming that he had been continuously ill since the birth of the child.

Mr. Nilkanth Waman Bhide, pleader, and G. V. Gondhabhar, owner of the Bharat Bhawan Press, are arrested on a charge of printing and retiting defamatory poems about the Hon. Mr. Gokhale during the last Ganapati festival in Poona.

16. The Partition Day is observed in various parts of United Bengal and in Bombay, Lahore and Mussalipatam. A monster meeting is held at the Federation Hall Grounds in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. A. Chaudhuri, where collections to the amount of nearly Rs. 30000 are made on behalf of the Hall.

In the course of the hearing of an appeal of a Brahmin sentenced to death by the lower court on a charge of inflicting 50 wounds on the body of a woman resulting in her death the Chief Justice and Justice Sankar Menon of the Travancore High Court commute the death sentence regretting that the Travancore Penal Law exempts the Brahmin and woman offenders from capital punishment and remark that the time has now come for amending the law.

Mr. Hardayal Nag, a pleader of the Chandpur Bar in Eastern Bengal, and a great Swadeshi leader and Mr. Prafulla Chandra Das-Gupta are arrested at Chandpur under Sec. 108, Cr. P. C.

17. A severe cyclone extending over the whole day and night rages over East Bengal and other parts of Bengal causing most serious damages to life and property, many steamers and country crafts having sunk in the Padma near Goalundo.

A severe riot takes place between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in Chunar near Mirzapur in connection with the Mahometan festival of the Id.

18. The Malaria Conference conclude its 7 days' sittings today at Simla.

The Bombay Mill-Owners' Association hold a meeting to consider the proposed Factories' Act and strongly protest against the restriction of adult male labour which they say is not restricted within the British Empire except in coal mines as well as against various other provisions in the Act.

19. Lord Curzon speaking at Edinburgh on the "Place of India in the Empire" emphasises that "the Empire can not exist without India." Lord Rosebery presiding said: "the most interesting spectacle in the world in the ensuing century would be the development of India under a democratic Parliament in Britain" and hoped that "the British race would prove adequate to deal with such a gigantic experiment."

21. In the libel action of Lala Lajpat Rai against the *Daily Express*, the King's Bench Division in London awards damages of £50 to the plaintiff.

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference opens today at Lahore under the presidency of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee.

22. At the final meeting of the Viceroy's Council at Simla the Sikh (Anand) Marriage Bill is passed into Law. The Council is then adjourned *sine die*, the Viceroy making a graceful reference to the final closing of the Council under the old Act.

The Government of India issues a notification prohibiting bringing by sea or by land into British India the paper called *Bande Mataram*, a monthly organ of Indian independence, printed at Geneva.

23. The Madras Presidency Muslim League holds its annual meeting under the presidency of the Prince of Arcot. Separate electorates are strongly advocated.

24. The Government of India tentatively sanction the provision of equal facilities for religious instruction to all creeds in all Government and Municipal Schools in Burma where it is asked for by parents and guardians.

THE INDIAN WORLD

25. The Master of Elibank writes to the *Times* that Lord Morley recognises and appreciates the patriotic self-sacrifice of the Hon. Mr. S. P. Sinha in surrendering a lucrative practice to accept the Law Membership.

The 5th Mahomedan Educational Conference of United Bengal is held at Burdwan for a 3 days' session under the presidency of Moulavi Abdul Jabbar Khan Bahadur, C. I. E.,

21 fresh arrests and deportations of Indians in the Transvaal including the Chairman of the Johannesburg British Indian Association and many prominent Indians are made.

The total value of sea-borne trade at Rangoon with foreign countries during 6 months ending 30th September is published to be 982½ lakhs as compared with the same period last year.

A severe cyclone rages over the Ganjam coast. At Berhampore the Town Hall, Post Office, Baptist Chapel, railway station, and Jubilee Hospital are all more or less wrecked. Some of the European bungalows collapse. The loss of human life is uncertain, though accidents were numerous, and hundreds of cattle have been killed. Telegraphic communication with the north suspended.

27. A Mahomedan Political Conference is held at Burdwan, Nawab Nasirul Mamalik Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg Khan Bahadur presideing.

A daring dacoity is committed in the house of a local Marwari merchant at Haludbari nearly Damukdea station on E.B.S. Ry. by men wlth rifles in their possession and six middle class youths are arrested at Mirpur station on suspicion.

At the annual meeting of the Mysore Representative Assembly opened with the Dussarah Dinner today Mr. T. Anand Rao, the Dewan declares an increased expenditure for education and re-organised Public Health Department.

28. In reply to the memorial of the Punjab Hindu Sabha complaining of the differential treatment accorded to the Hindus in the Punjab, the Government of India demurs to any injustice being done to the community in the matter of employment in the public service, promises to consider any inequitable treatment to any section of the Hindus under the Land Alienation Act but defends the principle of the Act, and assures the memorialists that the representation of their community as a minority in the Punjab will be duly safeguarded.

30. The Viceroy visits Jaipur and receives a magnificent reception.

As a first step in the carrying out of an industrial survey in the Presidency the Bombay Government's decision to undertake an expert examination of the weaving industry is announced.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Whipping in Indian Gaols

The total number of cases in which whipping was inflicted as a gaol punishment in India in the years 1906, 1907, and 1908 was 668, 652, and 694 respectively.

Subsidy to Reuter

The Government of India pay to "Reuter's Agency" £1,440 a year for services rendered by them in respect to the distribution of news throughout India ; this payment has no connection with the transmission of news from India to other parts of the world.

The Agricultural Service

The Indian Agricultural Service now constitutes a compact little body of some three score appointments under the Imperial and Provincial Governments. Practically the entire service has been recruited from England during the past six or eight years, the appointments made to it by selection in this country having been very few.

The Late Mr. L. M. Ghose

In an obituary notice of the late Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, the *Daily News* (London) observes :—"Mr. Lalmohun Ghose was known to English audiences a quarter of a century ago as probably the most accomplished political speaker that India has sent to this country. A man of remarkable gifts, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose might in happier circumstances have carved out a great career for himself."

Highway Robberies of the Mails

Last year, there were thirty-five highway robberies of the postal mails as compared with thirty-two in the previous year. Of these twenty-seven occurred in British Territory and eight in Native States. Of the robberies that occurred in British Territory thirteen took place in Madras, five in the Punjab, four in the United Provinces, three in Bombay, and one each in Burma and Eastern Bengal. Seven cases were attended with loss of life.

The Antiquity of Malaria

Malaria is one of the oldest of Indian diseases, says Sir H. Risley. The medical hymns of the Atharva Veda, so ancient that they propound a treatment by means of charms and sympathetic magic, contain an accurate description of the symptoms of the disease in which the various forms of intermission are distinguished, and the characteristic accompaniment of jaundice, especially during the rainy season, is carefully noted. Several centuries later the Ayurveda designates malaria as the "king of diseases" and prescribes less primitive remedies.

Indian Archaeology

Mr. Marshall's Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1906-07 has just been published. The most extensive

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operations noticed in connection with conservation work were made at the Black Pagoda at Konarak, where removal of debris from around the fallen Sikhara has led to the discovery of a large and valuable collection of remarkably well-preserved statues that add substantially to the existing knowledge of Hindu Sculpture. Another extraordinarily interesting find was at *Sahribarlol* seven miles north of Mardan, on the Swat Canal, N. W. Frontier, where a quantity of wonderful Buddhist sculptures were discovered in ruined shrines which were once comparable in their wealth of gold and colouring to the modern temples of the same faith in Burma and Japan.

Himalayas Moving South

At the conference of the International Geodetic Association at Cambridge sometime ago, Lieut-Colonel Burrard said that recent levelling operations in India showed that the Siwalik range gained a few centimetres in height in the great earthquake of 1905. Geologists believe that the whole mass of the Himalayas and Tibet was being pushed south, and wrinkling up a new Range out of the alluvial plain. Two facts supported this view : the folds of the new mountains conformed to the shape of the quadrilateral of old mountains in Southern India, as if they were being squeezed up against an immovable butt ; and the compensation of gravity was more nearly complete in the new mountains than in the old. The survey authorities had recently laid down six lines of bench marks, which would be re-observed every ten years to examine this very interesting question.

Indian Indigenous Drugs

The committee appointed at Calcutta for the purpose of making trials of the therapeutic effects of indigenous drugs has issued a second report which covers the following twelve drugs : (1) *Podophyllum emodi*, (2) *alstonia scholaris*, (3) *pictorhiza kurroa*, (4) *adhatoda vasica*, (5) *calatropis procera* and *gigantea*, (6) *acacia catechu*, (7) *caesalpinia bonducilla*, (8) *ipomaea hederacea*, (9) *andrographis paniculata* (10) *embelia ribes*, (11) *rheum emodi*, (12) *cassia montana*. The evidence regarding the action of these drugs is summarized, but varies considerably in character and value. Much of it consists of vague opinions, favourable or otherwise. *Podophyllum emodi* is pronounced to possess the same merits and defects as *podophyllum pellatum*. *Ipomaea hederacea* (*Kaladana*) was ascertained to be a strong purgative resembling *jalap*. *Calatropis* (*Mudar*) was found to be useful as a substitute for ipecacuanha in mild cases of dysentery. The leaves of *cassia montana* have found their way into the London market and been sold as senna, but reports of its use are discouraging. The evidence regarding the other articles is inconclusive, and further and more searching trials are necessary.

High Prices in Calcutta

"Why are Calcutta Prices Rising ? and Where will it End ?" was the title of an interesting lecture delivered at Calcutta recently by the Rev. Alex Tomory, M.A., before an appreciative audience. In the course of his lecture, Mr. Tomory said part of the rise in prices was due to the general causes that had sent up prices of rice and other grains in Bengal and the rest of India. But most of the rise was due to the conditions of Calcutta life. Calcutta had

been growing in prosperity, and the penalty was that people had to pay more for land for sites for houses, offices, and residences than was the case twenty years ago. After quoting figures in support of his contention, the lecturer pointed out that in the very important items of house accommodation and shop rents there had been an average increase of 50 per cent., or more. He next dwelt on the price of supplies for Europeans and Indians, and the wages of servants. He said that if salaries had risen in proportion then there would be no net difference—the higher expenditure would be balanced by a higher income, and things would continue as before. To reduce the congestion of the city, the lecturer suggested a series of well-built suburbs and means of rapid transit to the city. This would provide open spaces in the city itself, and would induce rents to fall, and so check the rise in prices. To remedy the congestion, if the municipality would not or could not become a private owning corporation, he suggested that another public body should be constituted, with powers to acquire land and let it for the public benefit at popular rates only to cover costs. There was at the present time hardly any practicable method of bringing out the landowners so as to benefit the public, and there was no legislation to force them out. But ingenuity, added the speaker, would discover a method of preserving this unearned increment—due to the prosperity and general character of Calcutta as a port and an emporium—from becoming merely private property and a source of private gain. That, in this opinion, would be one way to end the present prices of rent and commodities.

European Notions about India

Baron Killanin in a beautiful impressionist study contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* of October last sums up in the following the average European notions about India :—"How much of our early memories (of India) centre round pictures and stories of the be-jewelled raja and the hidden princess, the naked *fakir* and the juggler, the Brahminy priest and bull, the elephant and the tiger, the peacock and the snake, parrots, monkeys, crocodiles—the jungle and the bungalow, palms and deodars, fig-trees and rice-fields, temples, gardens, palaces, tents—and always the swarming crores of black people ! What an aroma of spells and spices, of portents and flowers, pervades the atmosphere ! What a display of pearls and ivory, of muslins and marble, feasts the eyes ! What a lustre of fabulous wealth Golconda and the Kohinoor reflect ! What a thrill of horror tales of the Thugs and Suttee arouse ! And how terrible look the very words—the Black Hole of Calcutta or the Car of Juggernaut ! My thoughts harked away even to representations of Bacchus on his famous tour to furthest Ind—seated in a triumphal chariot drawn by a pair of tigers and escorted by satyrs ; and I fancied, too, that I had seen somewhere peacocks yoked as steeds, and deities riding on parrots. Monkey-armies fought with snakes that resembled men ; and gymnosophist, like moths, voluntarily mounted the pyre and burnt themselves. Great Napoleonic names—Alexander, Tamerlane, Aurangzeb, victorious demigods amid orient hosts—confronted one ; and the Himalayas towered over the Alps. Or, again, gentler scenes—redolent of Lalla Rookh and of Heine's visionary love-haunt—appeared in an afar and a fairy land, aflame with colours and light and gems and perfumes—the home of sacred

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rivers and lotus-blossoms, of moonlit dreams and songs of love. The magic flute of histrionic art evoked a strange and enchanting spectacle of Eastern life—where precious stones grew on golden trees and silken cushions floated in the azure sky—where godlike forms sat on diamond thrones, and mystic symbols of the stars foretold the emblazoned destinies of men."

Indian Art

Before a recent audience at the National College of Calcutta, Dr. A. Coomaraswamy gave a discourse on Indian Art in the course of which he traced the growth of Indian Art from the third century B. C. and showed the changes that characterised the different epochs of Indian Art by vivid illustrations of Indian Sculpture and Indian Painting, trying at the same time to bring out the nature and significance of the different phases of Indian Art. Of the first epoch of Buddhist Art (300 B. C.—50 A. D.), the lecturer said that it consisted in the decoration, the affectionate ornamentation of the "stupas" and other monuments of Buddhism, and in the illustrations of the stories of the Jatakas or the Birth Stories of the Incarnations of Buddha which instilled into the minds of men moral and ethical principles. This Art, the lecturer observed, was in a way religiously utilitarian ; it was not transcendental or mystic. In speaking of the next epoch, the period of Greek-Buddhist Indian Art in Gandhara (modern Peshawar and the surrounding districts), Dr. Coomaraswamy pointed out that this Art was characterised by insincerity, not being the true expression of the Indian mind. In speaking of the classic period of Indian Art which began in the third century A. D., the lecturer said that that Art was characterised by idealism and religious mysticism and that it reached its high-water mark in some Mahayana Buddhist images in Java and Ceylon. During this period Indian Art exercised a preponderating influence on the art of China, Japan and Tibet. Passing from the classic to the mediæval period, the lecturer pointed out that the Moghul influence broke up the Hindu art traditions in the north, and prevented their further development, except in Nepal, though they survived much longer in the south. At the same time the Muhammadans made a great contribution to Indian art-culture in the schools of miniature painting which they established and fostered, and whose work had great influence in shaping the ideals of the modern Bengali school of national art. The effective destruction of the last remnant of vitality in the old traditions has been almost (not by any means quite) completed in the nineteenth century.

Indian Poverty and Discontent

Speaking on India at Norwich Labour Church early last month, Mr. S. H. Swinny, M.A., Chairman of the Positivist Society, dealing with the poverty of the country, the present discontents, the reason why India was discontented, and what our policy should be in view of those difficult circumstances, said that it might be thought that the discontent in India as we now see it was due to the fact that while other nations were seen to be growing in wealth and prosperity India still remained extremely poor ; but the present discontents were of a much later growth than the recognition of the poverty of India. It was not so much discontent on that account, but for the reason that the suggestions made by Indians never

received attention. It was urged that the Indians are an inferior race, which we out of our goodness had undertaken to rule, and that it is unlikely that they will ever be able to rule themselves properly. It is necessary that the English rule should last, if not for ever, for a great length of time. He (Mr. Swinny) was sorry to see that Lord Morley had endorsed that most dangerous view. When he (Mr. Swinny) went to India in 1902, and attended a great gathering that was held, called the National Congress, he was bound to say that the thousands of Indians there conducted their proceedings with dignity and order, and would have done credit to any large assembly in this country. The party that were now known as extremists were practically non-existent. This was only six or seven years ago—Christmas of the year 1902. The great mass of those assembled at that Congress grew up under English rule under Lord William Bentinck and Lord Macaulay, and were themselves steeped in English literature. There was no feeling then against the English rule. There was a desire that the wishes of the Indians should be attended to. Since then events have moved very fast, and we had had two events which would render it very difficult for the same good feeling between the Indians and the English to continue. One of these was the partition of Bengal, and the other was the constant deportations without trial. The main object of the partition of Bengal was to separate a large portion of it from its centre of political interest. Then came the fall of Lord Curzon and the appointment of that great champion of India, Lord Morley as Secretary for India. When the Indians heard the appointment of Mr. John Morley as he then was, the Indians from hundreds of platforms acclaimed him as a true friend, who would undo some of the things Lord Curzon had done. It is true that after a great length of time Lord Morley had produced some reforms, and he (Mr. Swinny) was not going to say that these reforms were useless because they were small. They were reforms in the right direction of giving the people of India a greater share in the government of their country. But how was it likely that the people of India would be contented when those deportations were continued, and men imprisoned without being brought to trial, and when they were admittedly kept in prison on the evidence of the Indian police, the most corrupt part of the Indian population? When these people were deported on the evidence furnished by the police they had no means of refuting the charges.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Import of Woolen Goods

Woolen goods represent about 6·7 per cent., of the total value of textile goods imported into India. The share of the United Kingdom in the piece-goods branch of this trade was reduced last year from £956,400 to £851,900, or about £104,500, while Germany's share increased from £2,15,000 to £273,000, an increase of £58,000. The drop in the one case was 10·9 and the rise in the other, 27·4 per cent. bringing the shares of the two countries to 68·3 per cent and 21·9 per cent. of the whole respectively. The increase in the number of shawls imported last year was 68·7 per cent. Germany supplied 89 per cent. of the total

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number. Ninety per cent. of the imports of woollen hosiery were from the United Kingdom.

Machinery Imports

The imports of machinery show that India's progress in mechanical equipment has been going on in spite of the depression in trade. The values of the imports in the last five years are as follow :— 1904-5, £2,685,000 ; 1905-6, £3,283,000 ; 1906-7, £3,860,000 ; 1907-8, £4,390,200 ; 1908-9, £4,410,600. Textile machinery is the principal item in this class of imports, representing 43·5 per cent. of the whole of the imports of machinery. The value of steam engines imported into all India declined from £918,200 to £723,900. Electrical machinery and mining machinery at £236,500 and £82,400 respectively both show substantial progress, the increased imports of the former being mainly for the equipment of the textile industry.

Import of Hardware and Cutlery

The imports of hardware and cutlery which formed (in 1906-7) 9·8 per cent. of the total value of the imports of metals and manufactures of metals, show a decrease for the past year (08-09) of 7·6 per cent.

	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9
	£	£	£
Cutlery	93,869	121,975	116,781
Agricultural implements	70,394	88,498	66,433
Other implements and tools	110,455	130,210	133,183
Enamelled ironware	125,264	163,254	120,025
Sewing machines	78,648	76,223	81,367
Unspecified hardware	1,290,373	1,530,144	1,432,757
Total ...	£1,769,003	£2,110,304	£1,950,546

The Growth of the Jute Industry

A little more than seventy years ago Dundee flax and hemp spinners used to guarantee their products "free from Indian jute." Then, in 1838, the value of jute yarn was discovered and the Dundee jute industry was born. Seventeen years later, in 1855, the first spinning machinery was brought out to Calcutta from Dundee, the first mill was established, on land once owned by Warren Hastings, and the first machine-spun jute yarns produced. Eight tons a day was the product in the beginning. It is now 2,500 tons a day, or more than three times the produce of the parent in Dundee. In the place of that one mill there are to-day 38 companies, with over 30,000 looms and 675,000 spindles. In 1850-51, the value of jute to India, as represented by the exports of the raw and manufactured material was a little over forty-one lakhs. In 1908-09 the value was thirty-one and a half crores of rupees, very nearly half the total value of the merchandise exported from Bengal. Such has been the growth of the jute industry of Calcutta within the space of fifty odd years. (*The Empire*).

Sheep-Breeding

In view of the decrease in the flocks of sheep in the hills, interesting experiments are being made in the Punjab and Fron-

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tiers for sheep breeding. Operations have begun on a small scale in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. To improve the quality as well as the yield of wool of the short-tailed gaddi sheep, a few merinos have been imported into the Hazara District and the Tochi Agency. There are altogether 17 merino rams at present, 12 in Hazara, one in the Tochi Valley, and four in Dera Ismail Khan. Their services are appreciated. In order to obtain any real benefit from the operations, numbers of these sheep are required, and a constant supply must be maintained, so as gradually to trade up the local sheep. A number of New Zealand Alp rams are being imported for the Kangra district and are expected to arrive shortly. Private European enterprise has taken up the sheep-breeding industry at Haldwani where a grant of land on favourable terms has been secured from the United Provinces Government for the starting of a sheep farm. The concession of free grazing for a certain number of years has also been allowed by the authorities. None of the other provinces report anything regarding sheep-breeding which offers a great field for enterprise.

SELECTIONS

SIKHISM

"The Sikh Religion : its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors." By Max Arthur Macauliffe. Oxford : Clarendon Press, six volumes, 1909.

In their miscellaneous writings, Europeans have endeavoured to show that Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, dissatisfied with the idolatry of Hindus and displeased with the hypocrisy of Hindu and Muhammadan priests, essayed to construct a religion out of Hinduism and Islam. Sukha Singh, author of the "Gur Bilas," a well-known Sikh work, represents Guru Govind Singh as saying : "Out of two religions I have made a third." There is much to be said in defence of the theory that, at any rate, the founder of Sikhism aimed at establishing a religion which would combine the best features of Hinduism and Islam ; but Mr. Macauliffe has not touched upon it at all, probably because modern Sikhs are unwilling to admit any elements of Islam in their national faith. The Gurus and their followers were in many cases cruelly dealt with by the Moslems. The fifth Guru, Guru Arjan, the Sikh Pistratus, who compiled the Granth Sahib, was put to death by torture in Lahore under the order of the Emperor Jahangir ; the ninth Guru was executed in Delhi under the Emperor Aurangzeb ; and the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, was hounded to destruction by the same bigoted Emperor.

A Sikh writer, in reply to a seditious letter despatched from London to the Panjab with the object of corrupting the Sikh soldiery, has written as follows regarding the treatment of his co-religionists by Muhammadan rulers : "In the time of Nadir Shah and Furrukh Ser, the Hindus acting as Moslem agents determined to remove every trace of the Sikhs, and received, as remuneration, twenty, thirty, forty, or at the most, eighty rupees for any Sikh they made over to the Muhammadans. So successful were the Hindus in the merciless task they had undertaken, that they thrice reported to the Moslem ruler of Lahore that they had not left a single Sikh alive in the land. In every part of India the Sikhs were subjected to innumerable annoyances and persecutions, as if they were worse than the beasts which are enemies of man. They were pierced with bayonets ; their joints were cracked ; they were broken on the wheel ; and, after they were wrapped in cotton soaked in kerosine oil, burnt alive in the bazaars of Lahore."

On this account, contemporary Sikhs, to whom Mr. Macauliffe has obviously been obliged to defer, disclaim all connection with Islam. There are, however, several matters to be considered in this connection. The first is that almost all the Gurus had very sincere Muhammadan friends and partisans. The second is that Guru Nanak, by his wanderings in Mekka and Baghdad, displayed an undoubted sympathy with Islam. The third is, that although he accepted the doctrine of Nirvana, his Japji, or great Morning Divine Service, contains mention of Sach Khand, a region of bliss,

which appears to have been suggested by the Muhammadan paradise. The fourth is, that the oldest biography of Guru Nanak, which Mr. Macauliffe himself edited, contains a hymn beginning :

" His Holiness the Prophet made this pronouncement in the Quran,
That dogs which watch at night are better than men who pray not,"
and ending,

" On the day of Judgment they who did good deeds shall have no anxiety ;
Nanak, they shall be saved who have taken shelter in the prophet."

This hymn is obviously in Guru Nanak's style, and if it is a fabrication it must have been very ingeniously effected.

As to the connection of the Sikh religion with the Hinduism of the Vedas, this is explained in Mr. Macauliffe's introduction. He there gives a monotheistic hymn from the Vedas, which obviously is the basis of Guru Nanaka's hymn on the Creation ; but the identity of Sikhism with modern Hinduism is not to be admitted for a moment.

The Sikh is a good soldier, a good husbandman and mechanic, simple and trustful when not corrupted by occidental civilization but he is not usually an astute man of the world. Amritsar, the headquarters of the Sikh religion, was founded by the Sikhs, and was originally their city ; but now the Hindus are its richest inhabitants, and dominate it with their intelligence and commercial enterprise. The Hindu chiefs have generally shown themselves wiser men and better administrators than the Sikh nobles. The sad instances of the chiefs of Patiala, Faridkot, and Chicharauli dying within short intervals of one another as the result of strong drink has not often been paralleled in India. As a result of the more regulated lives and better business habits of the Hindus, the Sikhs seek marriage alliances among them. This leads to a softening of the lines of demarcation between the two religions, which is one of the causes of the decline of Sikhism.

The main points of difference between the Hindu and Sikh religions are as follows : The Hindus worship idols and believe in incarnations of the God-head, while the Sikhs reprobate all idolatry and believe not in Rama and Krishna or any other Hindu incarnation. The three upper classes of the Hindus wear sacrificial threads and shave their heads. The Sikh teachers laugh at the idea of there being any peculiar sanctity in a cotton thread, and it is a religious duty of all Sikhs, particularly those who follow the tenth Guru, to let their hair grow, and be, as it is called in India, *sabut surat* or with bodies untouched with any cutting instruments. The Sikhs maintain that the great prophets of old kept their bodies whole. They refer to the oldest representations of Moses, Abraham, Socrates, and Christ, and assert that a man should not deprive himself of such a precious natural boon as his hair. The Hindus very generally smoke tobacco, and, when they eat flesh at all, they eat what has been killed by Muhammadans. Sikhs, on the other hand, most religiously abstain from tobacco, which is called by the tenth Guru and his followers the "world's filth." The Sikh only eat the flesh of animals whose necks have been severed from their bodies with a single blow by the hands of a Sikh.

Baba Nanak has left some memorable hymns defending the use of flesh meat. The permission to partake of it, and the prohibi-

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tion of tobacco, which is now known in Europe to shut the growth of the male population, have undoubtedly tended to make the Sikhs the stalwart and brave men that they are—the heroes of many a well-fought field. The Hindus may only eat with men of their own caste, while the Sikhs may, so far as their sacred books are concerned, eat with persons of all denominations. The Hindus may only eat in a fixed place which they had sanctified with prayer and the smearing of cow-dung, while the Sikhs can eat wherever and with whatever company they happen to be.

The Hindus worship the cow, while no special sanctity is attributed to her in the Sikh sacred writings. The Hindus fast and visit places of pilgrimage ; both these practices are reprobated in the Sikh sacred writings. The Hindus believe that Brahmans sprang from the head of the Creator, and reverence them accordingly, and, as a corollary to this, regard the Brahmanical books and teachings as the highest emanations of Divine wisdom. The Sikhs, who understand their religion, put no faith in the Brahmans, their ministrations. The Hindus believe that families are rendered impure by births and deaths among them, and they pay Brahmans liberally for the performance of purificatory rites. The Sikhs ridicule the idea of uncleanness being produced by the operation of natural causes. The Hindus cannot receive into their religion one not born within the pale of Hinduism, while the Sikhs, according to the original design of Baba Nanak, and when according to the practice of the tenth Guru, may receive men of all castes into their fold. There are, of course, great differences of dress, and totally different prayers or Divine services for the members of both religions.

The followers of the tenth Guru of the Sikhs wind their long hair round a piece of steel and bind it with a comb. They wear a steel bracelet and drawers of a particular fashion. These observances distinguish them extremely from the Hindus. The Hindus have auspicious and inauspicious times for marriage. At their celebrations they read an account of Shri Krishna's abduction of Rukhmani, the betrothed of Sripal. Many other points of difference will occur to observant readers who have lived in India.

Many of the early Christians assimilated their tenets and ceremonials to those of the Jews, from whom they had sprung. This is a human tendency which is not difficult to understand. The same phenomenon is observable among the Sikhs, for since the demise of their Gurus they have had no trustworthy or capable religious guides. Our author appears to apprehend that the Sikh religion must ultimately die out if it receives no Government support. There is very little probability that any such support will be vouchsafed. The high officials of the Indian Government know nothing of Sikh literature, and they are, moreover, too much obsessed with the bugbear of "religious neutrality" to make any movement for the support of Sikhism.

In the Hindu Puranas it is stated that Vishnu in the Avatar of Buddha withdrew religion from the demons of Hindu lore when he plotted their destruction. Some of the political officers who extended the frontiers of the Indian Empire might have been capable of Vishnu's diplomacy, but we cannot believe that the civil Government, in bringing up young Indian chiefs without religion, has acted with the same sinister intention. It has been done, we think, in

furtherance of the policy of "religious neutrality," and not with the object of degrading and depriving young chiefs of their independence. In the case of young Sikh wards of the Government in particular, we believe the failure of the Government to give them religious and moral education is largely due to ignorance of their sacred books and of their utility to the State. The result has, however, been the same. Most of the Sikh principalities are now deprived of their political independence on account of the sins of omission or commission, real or alleged, of their chiefs, caused through defective religious and moral education.

There are now only four Sikh States in the Punjab—namely, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, and Faridkot. These are ordinarily governed by councils of three—one Sikh, one Muhammadan, and one Hindu. The apparent object of this system of administration has been to secure impartiality. The inhabitants of the States being Sikhs, Muhammadans, and Hindus, it was thought that the Sikhs might profitably address themselves to the Sikh member, the Muhammadans to the Muhammadan member, and the Hindus to the Hindu member. This looked well as a scientific or mechanical arrangement, but in practice it has had very serious defects. The Sikh member has been generally half a Hindu and not well-educated. The Muhammadan and Hindu members have been better educated, bitterly opposed to Sikhism and its followers, and always able to combine against and outvote the Sikh member on all important questions. Nor could the Muhammadan and Hindu members agree between themselves as to the treatment of the State subjects of their respective faiths. The Hindu member being a man of figures and arithmetic was able to control the finances; and to him, too, was generally entrusted the management of the State funds to benefactions and charitable purposes, when the Brahmins and other members of his faith were filled to repletion, and the interests of Sikhs despised and neglected. Administrations thus composed have led to divided counsels, and practically no State religion has been maintained. Sikhism has thus been largely forgotten, and in some instances completely obliterated.

The obvious remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things is to appoint, for the future, Sikh officials of integrity and ability to high offices in all the Sikh States. If the Muhammadan and Hindu inhabitants have not the same comfortable privileges as before, they will only share the fate of religious minorities in all other countries. Our own country is not governed by a council consisting of a High Churchman, a Roman Catholic Irish Nationalist, and a Houndsditch Jew. What a happy family such a combination would be! Had our country possessed such an admiration it is obvious that no State religion could be maintained.

A college for the education of Punjab chiefs and nobles was sometime since established in Lahore. It is now well understood by intelligent Sikhs that it is unfitted for the education of chiefs and nobles of their faith. Peculiarities of dress and divine service were ordained for Sikhs by their Gurus, and Sikhs at the Chiefs' College would require great moral fibre to resist the bantering or derision of their schoolmates or avoid contracting a freedom of thought which would be fatal to their orthodoxy. Better would it be that young Sikhs were educated at the Khalsa College in Amritsar, if that institution could be placed under proper management,

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and members of its council who were either corrupt or indifferent to their faith and the glorious traditions of their race, removed with a strong hand.

There is much that the Sikhs themselves could do for their religious amelioration. They could, for instance, have their Granth Sahib printed or written in separate lines and separate words, as all poetry is now printed or written in Europe. This would render the great thoughts of their Gurus more easy of perusal.

The daily divine services of the Sikhs are elaborate and require leisure for their performance. In the morning they repeat the *Japji* of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, the *Hasara de Shabd* both of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, the *Asaki War* of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, the *Japji* of Guru Gobind Singh and the *Sukhmani* of Guru Arjan. The last three are rather lengthy and their repetition is optional for secular Sikhs. In the evening earnest Sikhs repeat the *Rahiras*, and when the lamps are lit the *Arati* which comprises hymns of Guru Nanak and some hymns of the Bhagats. At bed-time the Sikhs repeat the *Sohila*.

An effort may perhaps be some day made by Sikh priests to contrive prayers or less lengthy compositions for morning and evening services. Several Sikhs object to the length of the present ones and shrink from their profuseness, and even when they repeat the obligatory texts do so mechanically.

Let the Sikhs reject the ministrations of Brahmans at their marriages and have them celebrated by the ceremony of Anand, solemnly inaugurated by their third Guru. Several decisions of the Panjab Chief Court show that ordinary marriages among Sikhs have in every instance been treated as binding.

Other circumstances might have occurred which would have made the Sikh religion one of the foremost cults of the world ; but it is now too late for repentance, nor have any Sikhs until quite recently regretted being subject to the great country which rules with undisputed sway the Empire of India. But let us in return descend to do some justice to those great men, the Sikh Gurus, martyrs, and saints, who, undeterred by persecution, devoted their lives to the uprooting of hypocrisy and bigotry, who evolved the highest and purest ethical system from the corrupt morals of their epochs, who foreshadowed the advent of a people from beyond the sea to aid them in dethroning the tyranny of race, and to reign long in harmony and alliance with them. And let us devoutly hope that all their proud prophecies in favour of the British may receive due fulfilment.

The foremost Oriental scholars of the world have expressed their sympathy with the Sikh religion, but they can naturally take only an academic interest in it ; but to the Indian Government it not only presents an academic interest—which perhaps no intelligent Government may altogether despise—but also a deep political interest ; for in its civil aspect the Sikh religion connotes deep, unquestioning loyalty, and in its military aspect the highest heroism and self-sacrifice.

The Sikhs now number well over two million souls in the Punjab alone. The British have some thirty thousand of them in our army, for the most part strategically disposed, so as to temper or leaven the loyalty of other races. The Sikhs thus combine to form cohorts of much greater strength and importance than their

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numerical value would seem to indicate. It does not appear rational, much less politic, to allow them to lose their distinctive character, to revert to gross superstition and social deterioration, and to divest themselves of those feelings of loyalty which, in peace as well as in war, have made them the mainstay and pride of the British Government in India.—H. R. in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

SOME FAMOUS WRITERS OF OLD JOHN COMPANY

Whether we personify the great ruling corporation which, half a century since, had its throne in Leadenhall Street, as an arrogant and choleric prince—*Jehan Kompani*—or, with another class of Hindu opinion, as an old woman, or, crediting the inimitable Hajji Baba, as several old women, of one early, prominent, and permanent characteristic, we can have little doubt—it was a most prodigious letter-writer.

From its inception to its close the East India Company was, as a body, immeasurably addicted to pens, ink, and paper. Its letters to the East upon mercantile, political, and military matters would, for their length alone, put to shame the compilers of our modern Government despatches or the most verbose of British consuls. They were, in a word, only to be surpassed by the letters of its servants to the West, tons upon tons of which correspondence were ruthlessly ground to pulp a generation or so ago, when India House was vacated for the occidental expanses of Downing Street.

But mere length is not the only quality of this correspondence. Though so much has perished, much remains. Thanks to the researches of many pious chroniclers, eager to let nothing escape which might illustrate the phenomenon of British conquest, we are to-day conversant not only with the smallest official acts and military achievements of the “generals,” presidents, agents, captains, and factors of all periods, but with their earliest letters to the Company. We know that these merchant-adventurers abroad, each “half-bagman, half-buccaneer,” full deftly handled the goose-quill, as well as the cash and the cutlass. They were masters of the quaint epistolary style of their century ; their letters are lit with much sententious humour. The late Professor Saintsbury, indeed, culled from the very earlier epistles a garland of epigrams of which all but the very greatest of the Jacobean phrase-mongers might justly be proud.*

But although we are from these causes so familiar with the servants in the East, of the doings, sayings, and personal writings of the servants of John Company at home, it may be said we know nothing at all. For them the opportunities of distinction were sadly limited—narrowed down, perhaps, to literature alone—albeit we hear of one “accompante clerke” who, for his fondness for play-acting, was sternly banished abroad. But in literature, polite literature, what practice they had, these “letter writers,” clerks, secretaries, and copyists ! Many of these, one

* See *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1609-1634*.

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need not hesitate to say, would in that sphere easily have made their mark, if they could have imported the incisiveness, the clarity, the mother-wit—without the verbosity—of their letters into the productions of their non-official hours. The official letter-writers must always have been scribes of education and talent, even at the period when the Company's correspondence was dominated by some unusually capable member of the Committee of Correspondence. Yet we do not even know their names, and only in two instances may we safely attribute the authorship of any considerable part of the Company's despatches to two members of the Committee, Sir Josiah Child (1630-99) and Lawrence Sullivan (1716-1786), of whom the former alone was distinguished as a writer outside the pale of India House. All the servants in Leadenhall Street rest anonymous until, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the unmistakable literary talents of John Hoole became noised about town.

In one of Dr. Johnson's letters to Warren Hastings, we learn that "Mr. Hoole, a gentleman long known and long esteemed at India House, after having translated *Tasso*, has undertaken *Ariosto*. How well he is qualified for his undertaking he has already shown. It is a new thing," adds the sage, in expectation of obtaining the Governor-General's favour for his friend, "for a clerk of the India House to translate poets; it is new for a Governor of Bengal to patronise learning."

When this letter was written Hoole had been over thirty years in the Company's service. He was born in 1727, the son of a watchmaker, and machinist to Covent Garden Theatre. An early predilection for the stage—he once succeeded in playing the Ghost in *Hamlet*—was nipped in the bud by a friend's procuring him a junior clerkship in Leadenhall Street, in the accountant's office. The young man spent his days in checking up the profits of the factories at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and passed his nights in mastering French and Latin, Greek and Italian, the latter with a view to reading the fascinating *Ariosto* in the original. His income as a clerk being very small, Hoole set about increasing it by translating documents relating to the French operations in India during the Seven Years' War, and so earned the commendation of the Company's chairman, Lawrence Sullivan. He had at the same time formed the friendship of Robert Oldmixon, the Company's auditor, and the son of a once well-known author, by whom he was encouraged in his external literary pursuits. Side by side with his Italian tragedy of *Cyrus*, he penned, in 1772, *The State of East Indian Affairs* for the Company, the latter of which, although a purely official work, attracted more attention from the public than the former. Hoole finally succeeded Oldmixon as principal auditor at India House. The author of many of the Company's ablest despatches, he was greatly celebrated in literary circles as a poet and playwright, enjoying the particular favour and friendship of Dr. Johnson. He resigned his post in 1785, and died eighteen years later.

Seven years after Hoole's resignation a certain "blue-coat" boy humbly petitioned the East India Company for a junior clerkship. The Court Minutes record that on April 5th, 1792, Charles Lamb, then in his seventeenth year, was appointed a

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clerk in the "accomptant's" office on the usual terms—*i. e.*, a gratuity, not a salary, of but £40 a year. With the lapse of a few years we find this same "Charles Lamb, of the India House," growing famous as a poet and essayist, on intimate terms with the leading wits of the day. But despite his unmatched literary flights out of office hours, the real works of Lamb, as he has himself said, were on the shelves in Leadenhall Street, "filling some hundred folios." Yet although thirty-three years saw him at his desk, labouring for the Company, never a Company's man was the creator of *Elia*. Commerce and politics were against his grain. Once, in an extravagant outburst, he wrote :

Confusion blast all mercantile transactions, all traffic, exchange of commodities, intercourse between nations, all the consequent civilisation and wealth and amity and links of society, and getting rid of prejudices, and getting a knowledge of the face of the globe, and rotting the very firs of the forest that look so romantic, and die into desks.—*Vale!*

Nor was Lamb very serious in office hours. One of his fellow clerks, a Mr. Ogilvy, thus wrote, long after Lamb's death :

When I first entered India House and was introduced to him, he seized my hand, and exclaimed with an air, "Oh, Lord Oglesby! Welcome, Lord Oglesby! Glad to see you! Proud of the honour!" and he never called me anything else; and that got to be my name among the clerks, and is yet, when I meet any of the few that are left.

Indeed jokes and jests, great and small, were his constant pastime, and everyone around him came in for a share. His popularity with his fellow clerks was unbounded. He allowed the same familiarity that he practised, and they all called him "Charley."

When the hundredth folio of his "real works" was completed, Lamb began to think seriously of retiring from the service of the Company—or, as he put it, from the firm of Boldero, Merryweather, Bosanquet, and Lacey, after the chairman and the leading directors. In his delightful essay, *The Superannuated Man*, he describes the interview with the Committee of the Court of Directors which resulted in his retirement on the most generous terms.

On the evening of the 12th of April, just as I was about quitting my desk to go home (it might be about eight o'clock,) I received an awful summons to attend the presence of the whole assembled firm in the formidable back-parlour. I thought now my time was surely come. I have done for myself. I am going to be told they have no longer occasion for me. L[ace]y I could see smiled at the terror I was in, which was a little relief to me—when to my utter astonishment B[osanquet], the oldest partner, began a formal harangue to me on the length of my services, my very meritorious conduct during the whole of the time (the deuce, thought I, how did he find that out? I protest I never had the confidence to think as much). He went on to descant on the expediency of retiring at a certain time of life (how my heart panted!), and asking me a few questions as to the amount of my own property, of which I have a little, ended with a proposal to which his three partners nodded a grave assent, that I should accept from the house, which I had served so well, a pension for life, to the amount of two-thirds of my accustomed salary—a magnificent offer.

"Stammering, with a bow," Lamb "went home for ever," overwhelmed with gratitude for "the kindness of the most munificent firm in the world." For the company had not only promised him a handsome pension, but also to continue it to his sister after his death. That unfortunate lady survived him nearly fourteen years. Lamb himself, "the most lovable of all our English authors," outlived his retirement ten years, dying in 1834.

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While Lamb was still at India House he used occasionally to encounter at the portals, in the corridors, or on the stairs, an austere-looking gentleman, some dozen years his junior, who had recently entered the office. His name was James Mill, not yet very famous, although he had already written and published his monumental *History of India*. His calculations utterly failed, and Mill was doomed for twelve years to struggle on, with a slender pittance from his writings of £150 a year. We may remark that during the process Mill was by no means a friend to the East India Company. More than once did he let fly his inky shafts at the great power which had won and then governed India for England. At a time when Manchester and Liverpool were hotly pelting the Company for its alleged shortcomings and misdemeanours, Mill joined in the attack, contributing to the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1810, a merciless onslaught, for which he afterwards sufficiently expressed contrition. In this article he refuted all the pretences for granting the Company any trade monopoly ; he reviewed in minute detail all the "vices" of its government. He had, by the bye, ready to hand a remedy of his own for gubernatorial mismanagement ; he threw it out as a hint, not as a prophecy. "Instead of sending out a Governor-General, to be recalled in a few years," he asked, "why should we not constitute one of our Royal Family Emperor of Hindustan, with hereditary succession ?"

The famous *History* had barely seen the light in 1818 when certain of Mill's friends among the directors at India House resolved that such a man, with his talent for work and his knowledge of Indian matters and historic Indian policy, should have a post in the Company's service. "Accept of anything, however small, in the first instance," they advised him. "If once in, we shall be able to push you on." In a few months, after "great exertions" by Hume and Ricardo, Mill was appointed an assistant-examiner of India correspondence, at a salary of £800 per annum. Edward Strachey was his immediate superior. Mill's work was to draft all the despatches of the revenue department. When he took up his duties he found the correspondence many months in arrear. Fortunately for Mill, the working hours in Leadenhall Street were confined to from ten till four, otherwise his zeal might have led him to adopt his private system in the Company's service. For we are told that, when at work on his *History*, he not infrequently toiled till midnight, and rose the following morning at four to begin anew. In eleven years Mill became examiner, with a salary of £1,900 a year.

It was at this time that the great conflict between Parliament and the Company came on, the Company struggling not merely for its privileges, but for its very existence. On one side was ranged the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, Macaulay, Charles Grant, and the body of the nation ; on the other were three or four able civil servants, and a couple of dozen semi-inarticulate directors, representing a few hundreds of wholly inarticulate proprietors. Chief of these servants was Mill. For the time being James Mill was almost himself the Company. Between 1831 and 1834 he was repeatedly examined on the Company's affairs by Parliamentary Committees through numerous weary sittings. His replies to questions concerning the Company's revenue might easily have furnished forth an admirable State paper—several admirable State

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papers. Whatever he had been in his more youthful days, it is clear that Mill was now a Company's man, that he saw Indian policy with the Company's eyes from the Company's standpoint. "Petitions sent from India," he once remarked, "do not represent the general language of the country." Mill found himself indicted with the old charge of not knowing India, a charge repeatedly brought against his master, the Company, ever since its foundation as a ruling power. "I am far from pretending," he replied, quietly, "to a perfect knowledge of the people of India." Yet his knowledge was founded upon the history of many centuries, and was far more likely to prove effectual than that of the most observant functionary who had spent three-quarters of his lifetime studying Bengalese craftsmen on the banks of the Ganges. All the lengthy correspondence which virtually shaped the Bill of 1834 fell to him. This was the eighth crisis in the Company's history of 34 years, and Mill conducted its defence with an ability at least equal to Sir Josiah Child's in its third ordeal of 1690-93. Little wonder that one of the leading directors characterised the Company's letters to the Government as "distinguished for their ability, for their clearness, their candour and truth, their conciliatory tone and spirit and statesmanlike views, as well as for their successful refutation of that specious and imposing, but unsatisfactory reasoning which characterises the letters of——the Government ! It is really not at all strange that Mill, "whose views on trade were of the most advanced school," should yet be moving heaven and earth to overcome the fell designs of the Free Traders. He could still claim to be consistent. His verbal evidence clearly showed his reasons. "The mercantile interest could not see in the light of an official the very stagnant condition of the native population in India, and seemed to believe that, but for the obstruction of the Company's government, there would be a great and sudden development of industry—exports and imports—to the benefit of the home producer." Such hopes and beliefs were destined soon to be disabused.

It is worth recalling that Mill strongly advised the appointment of Macaulay, his old enemy, to the one membership of the Supreme Council at Calcutta not held by a Company's servant, as provided by the Act of 1834. It was no light task to overcome the opposition of many of the directors, but Mill, convinced of the brilliant young orator's finally succeeded.

Mill died in harness. Letters from the Governor-General, from Macaulay and Cameron, lay on his desk. As he passed away at his house in Kensington, his great pupil Grote was delivering his speech in Westminster on the ballot, the result of which Mill had hoped to hear. His interests were diffuse and diverse. Amongst his literary remains was a scrap of paper, which sheds an effulgent light upon his life-work. Thus it runs :

I have spoken to the Chairman respecting Major Elwood's case. He will make up his mind next week.

Fletcher and I have gone carefully through the last revenue draft (Madras), and made a few immaterial alterations. When Mr. M'Culloch has seen it, I purpose giving it to the Chairman. The other Madras draft will probably go to the Committee on Wednesday next.

There are no fresh arrivals in Revenue Department. Lord Hastings is in Paris. Buckingham has been sent home.—J. M.

On the other side of the slip appears a closely written dissertation, entitled, "Reasons to Show that the Christian Religion was

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not Intended to Guide or Influence the Actions or Happiness of this Life - that its Sole Object is the Future Life."

Such was the intellectual transition from John Company's servant to philosopher and theologian when the hours of the clock at India House pointed to four !

How strange it is to reflect that not merely James Mill's post and functions, but that his very *role* of Company's defender against Government, should come to be filled by a still more celebrated son, John Stuart Mill ! The father had been only four years in the Company's service when a junior clerkship was procured in the same office for the son, then but eighteen years of age. Young Mill was already a prodigy of learning and of intellectual capacity. Able as his fellow clerks were, they were mere pygmies in comparison, and he passed over their heads rapidly. In 1823 we find his salary (or gratuity) to have been but £30 a year. Seven years later he stood fifth in the examiner's office, and in 1836, the year of his father's death, further promotion brought his salary to £1,200 a year, with only Thomas Love Peacock and David Hill between him and the examinership.

"I have a vivid recollection," writes Mr. Bain, his friend and literary executor, "of the great front, the pillared portal of the Company's dingy, capacious, and venerable building in Leadenhall Street." He recalls the line of passages leading to Mill's room, from which, he tells us, he never had any occasion to deviate.

On entering we passed the porter in his official uniform, including cocked hat, and walked straight forward by a long passage . . . then up two pair of very unpretentious flights of stairs. At the landing was a door bearing at the top lintel the inscription, "Examiner's Office." We entered a little room occupied by the messengers, where they could make tea for the officials (Mill had his breakfast provided in this way on arriving at ten o'clock, tea, bread and butter, and a boiled egg). . . . There was an outside green baize door, always latched back to the wall, reminding us that the officials were servants of the Secret Committee, and might have to hold very confidential interviews. The room itself was very spacious—about thirty feet long and about eighteen wide ; it was lighted by three large windows. From the fire at one end to the book press at the other, the whole length was free from furniture, and was Mill's promenade with papers in his hand. While reading he was generally always on foot. At the angle between the fire and nearest window, in a recess, was his standing desk, and near it his office table, which was covered with papers and provided with drawers, but was not used according to his intention ; he wrote at the tall desk, either standing or sitting on a high stool. The chair for visitors was next the blank wall, beside a large table, on which the India despatches used to lie in high piles.

Mill's friend gives a vivid picture of his appearance on their first meeting at India House. Mill was standing by his desk, with his face turned to the door.

His tall, slim figure, the youthful face and bald head, fair hair and ruddy complexion, and the twitching of his eyebrow when he spoke, first arrested the attention ; then the vivacity of his manner, his thin voice, approaching to sharpness, his comely features and sweet expression, would have all remained in my memory, though I had never seen him again.

In 1856 Mill became examiner, at £2,000 a year. All the despatches emanating from Leadenhall Street to India or to the Board of Control fell to his charge. In the year following this promotion, he was called upon by the Company, in its ninth and last crisis of its history, to draft that celebrated petition to Parliament against its extinction, which Earl Grey pronounced to be the ablest State paper he had ever read. But in vain all Mill's arguments, in vain all his eloquence—the Company's Charter was re-

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voked and its powers assumed by the British Crown. Mill was offered a seat in the new India Council, but he preferred to go out with the old Company, and so declined the offer. He left India House with regret, telling his friend Grote that, "but for the Company's dissolution, he would have continued in the service until he was sixty." He chose to retire on a handsome pension from all official labour—which, however, he enjoyed but a few years. Mill the younger has every claim to be considered among the very greatest of the Company's servants.

Mill's official superior for a long term of years was neither a logician nor a political economist. Thomas Love Peacock had achieved fame as a poet and romancier ; he was not less famous for his intimacy with Shelley. Peacock owed his connection with the Company to his friend and patron, Peter Auber, for nearly forty years in the Company's service, retiring as its secretary. Auber recognised the advantages of a clear and brilliant style in the conduct of the Company's correspondence, and, admiring the gifts of the author of *Palmyra*, induced him to petition for employment in 1819. Peacock's ability was signally shown in the drafting of many official papers. In 1829, greatly struck with the advantages of steam navigation, he drew up a valuable memorandum for General Chesney's Euphrates Expedition, which earned the praise of both Chesney and Lord Ellenborough. Peacock's appearance before Parliamentary Committees were frequent, and upon him fell the burden in 1834 of resisting the claim of James Silk Buckingham for compensation for his expulsion from the East Indies. Again, two years later, he defeated the attack of the Liverpool merchants and Cheshire manufacturers upon the Indian salt monopoly.

Indeed, it was remarked at the time that, if the Company had clever writers enough, they could successfully down all opposition to their interests, and a hint was thrown out that the directors would do well to secure the services of such varied talents as were possessed by Messrs. Hood, Lemon, "Boz," Thackeray, Jerrold, and Leigh Hunt, and so render themselves invulnerable at all points !

Peacock's character and figure might almost have stood for the Company incarnate. A little obstinate and pugnacious towards modern innovation he certainly was, but genial and generous, too ; and, as Dr. Garnett has observed, "the vigour of his mind is abundantly proved by his successful transaction of the uncongenial commercial and financial business of the East India Company ; and his movels, their quaint prejudices apart, are almost as remarkable for their good sense as for their wit."

Another once famous follower of the Muse in Leadenhall Street was Moffatt James Horne, author of the *Adventures of Nausragus*. This most entertaining work was written in the first quarter of the last century, and well deserved its popularity for its very graphic descriptions of Eastern life and scenery. Horne obtained a clerkship at East India House soon after Charles Lamb's retirement, or that humorous observer of men and manners would not fail to have been vastly impressed by the spectacle of Horne's lady, who was wont to wait for her lord in Leadenhall Street of a summer afternoon—a beautiful half-caste whom he had picked up and wedded during his romantic tour through the Eastern seas.—Mr. Beckles Willson in the *Contemporary Review*.

CURIOS MARITAL CUSTOMS

Marriage is largely a matter of ritual among all classes of Hindus and like other ceremonies of a religious import, the practices observed on these occasions are founded mainly on the Shastras. But many of the aboriginal races in the South still observe, at time of marriage, many extraordinary practices. To explain their significance would be a difficult task, which only one with great opportunities of study and close observation could well attempt, but I will describe some of the more weird and strange marriage rites as they appear to an outside observer. In all the ceremony the indispensable symbol of marriage, the *tali* or *bottu* plays its part whatever may be the differences in other details, which are often totemistic in origin. It will perhaps be surprising to many that the European custom of throwing rice after a newly married pair has its parallel in the Kurumba or shepherds' practice of throwing rice on the heads of the bridal pair; as has also the one of the bride wearing a veil at the ceremony. This caste further selects its brides by taking note of lucky marks or curls on the bride's person, just as animals are chosen for their good marks by agricultural classes. The Yanadis, a forest tribe found largely in Nellore, restrict the marriage tie to adults. The bridegroom plights his troth to his bride by placing his right foot over her right foot and tying the *tali* round her neck. Then the pair throw rice on each other's heads and worship is offered to the caste deity.

WEDDING AMONG THIEVES

The Koravars, another semi-civilised and thieving race, practise polygamy on a large scale, and the marriage tie is very loose. A woman may, at will, go over to another man without disgrace. The marriage ceremony is as simple as the marital relations are lax, and is initiated by the bridegroom plighting his troth to the girl's father in a *muntha* (earthen tumbler) of toddy, and the whole caste then indulges in bacchanalian orgies lasting three days.

The bird-catchers, known as Sugalis, use a kind of intoxicating beverage at their weddings, composed of bhang, jaggery, spices and favouring herbs. The bridegroom presents money and some cattle to his would-be father-in-law and places the *tali* around his bride's neck. On the third day the bride goes to her husband's house, driving a bullock before her. Among the Jogis, another wild forest tribe, it is the custom to erect a marriage booth composed of twelve posts, and the contracting parties present sheep and earthen pots to their guests. Whoever fails gets three strokes on the palm with a stick, is mulcted in a small fine, and has dirty water thrown on his head. It is also the practice in this caste for the bridegroom to first tie the *bottu* to a she-cat's neck before fastening it to his bride's. The meaning of this strange rite is not known, nor can the Jogis themselves explain its origin. The Tamil Chucklers or leather-workers have great veneration for the *Cassia Auriculata* plant (known as *avaram* in Tamil), possibly because its bark is largely used in tanning leather, a preliminary to the nuptial ceremony the *tali* is fastened to a branch of this tree. Like the Madigas, who are the leather-dressers in the Telugu country, strong drink is indulged in at their weddings, of which the bridegroom provides the greater part.

CURIOS MARITAL CUSTOMS

FROM NOMAD TO AGRICULTURIST

Among the marriage ceremonies of an ancient hunting tribe known now as Palayakkarans, a few are unique, and reveal the various stages of the conversion of its members from living as forest nomads to setting down as agriculturists. The *Jambu*, or *Calyptranthes caryophyllifolia*, is held sacred by this caste, and on the first day of the marriage a branch of the above tree is worshipped by milk, ghee, and incense being offered, and the bridegroom ties the twig to the centre post of the marriage pandal. On the morning of the second day the married couple go in procession to an ant-hill outside the village, pour milk and ghee over the mound and take home some baskets of the mud. The bridegroom mixes the earth with water and places a lump of the clay at each of the twelve pillars. On the third day the bridegroom repairs to a field outside the village with his relations, ploughs up a portion of the soil and sows in it nine kinds of grain known as *navathanyam*. The Kanimavars, a race of sturdy Telugu cultivators, commemorate their escape ages ago by tying a bunch of dhal leaves to the northern post of a marriage pandal, as, according to their traditions, they hid themselves in a dhal field when pursued by enemies. The Yerlam Kapus, a division of the Telugu Reddis, have a deadly animosity towards Brahmins, whom they do not employ in consequence at their marriages and other ceremonies. When asked the reason for this dislike of the priestly class, they say that their progenitrix was a Brahmin maiden named Yerlamma, and, as she could not be married when young, as the Shastras peremptorily required all girls to be, she was cruelly turned out of her caste, and formed a *mesalliance* with a low-caste Hindu.

AMONG THE HILLMEN

The aboriginal residents of the Javadi Hill, an off-shoot of the Western Ghauts, are known as Malayalis (hillmen). The marriage rites of these people are both quaint and grotesque. When the priest ties the *tali* to the bride's neck, a sword is laid across the laps of the couple. Previous to obtaining the consent of the girl's parents, the bridegroom has to serve for at least a year in his intended bride's house. It not infrequently happens that the ardent swain, either despairing of getting the requisite parental consent or goaded by the charms of his lady love, carries her away by force and in that event he has to undergo some shameful penalties such as painting his face, carrying an old basket, full of broken pots and other rubbish, and carrying a tattered winnow over his head by way of a sun-shade. The marriage tie in this caste is very loose ; infidelity on the part of either party is quite common and goes unpunished. The annual worship of the Malayalis of the goddess *Kali* is something of a mystery, and is said to be weird and awe-inspiring in the extreme. No outsider, nor even the women of the caste itself, are permitted to witness the awful spectacle which is held in a remote part of the hills secluded from prying eyes and takes place before a stone image of the goddess. The Kurumbas, referred to above, are a tribe of pastoral hillmen of totemistic origin and are composed of various clans. The sacred tree of the caste is the *Naval* or *Calyptranthes caryophyllifolia*, with the twigs of which the marriage pandals are decorated. The ceremony is performed by the headman or Gowdu of the clan to which the parties belong.

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The Boyas are a warlike tribe and were originally hunters. It is from this caste that the bearers of palanquins are obtained as they are a very hardy and robust set of men. In marriage the bride and bridegroom each wear an iron ring on the wrist, fastened with a string made of the hair of a black sheep ; the girl has also the usual *tali* fastened to the neck. The black bangles are restricted to married women alone. The only caste among the Hindus which does not use the *tali* or *bottu* (the marriage symbol consisting of a bundle of saffron-coloured threads tied round the bride's neck) is the Anteddugandla, a class of Telugu oil-pressers who work their oil nails with a single bullock, from which fact the caste name is derived.

THE DASIS

The Dasis, or dancing girls attached to the Hindu temples, go through a curious ceremony of marriage with a sword in the place of a bridegroom, as they are not permitted to contract marriages with any one, however high or wealthy. But oftentimes the girl is supposed to be wedded to the idol of the temple in which she serves and wears a *bottu* in token of her marriage.—S. in the *Madras Mail*.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

• THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

The inaugural address of the lecture programme of the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh, for the ensuing session was given in the Synod Hall by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, whose subject was "The Place of India in the Empire."

Lord Curzon began by outlining the object of his brilliant and exhaustive address and said that "unless India has been or can be brought into organic relation with the rest of the Empire, deriving strength from as well as communicating strength to it and playing a definite part in the problem of Imperial evolution, its connexion with the Empire can only be artificial, and will not be enduring."

The speaker regretted that up to this time comparatively little attention had been paid to India by Englishmen at home and described this period as an era of disregard and went on to say :— "Hitherto there has been a tendency to treat India as lying somewhat outside the main congeries of States and communities that compose that Empire, to regard it, so to speak, as a magnificent jewelled pendant hanging from the Imperial collar, but capable of being detatched therefrom without making any particular difference to its symmetry or strength. . . . In the opening days of the tariff reform movement India was altogether forgotten, and no one paused to inquire what part would be played in the scheme by that which is both the largest and, commercially, by far the most important section of the Empire. When the earlier Colonial Conferences met no place was found for an Indian spokesman. Cecil Rhodes omitted any mention of India in the noble bequest of his millions to the cause of Empire. Even the problem of Imperial defence has often been discussed without relation to that which is in a sense its pivot—viz., the defence of India. The patriotic inhabitants of our Colonies, taking their cue from England, have seemed to regard India as occupying a lower plane of Imperial importance to themselves, and finally the stay-at-home Englishman, startled out of his normal equanimity by the unexpected spectacle of open disorder and sedition in India, almost began to wonder whether India might not after all be an encumbrance rather than a source of strength."

After reviewing in detail India's claims to a fuller recognition

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of her place within the Empire, based on "the indisputable facts of her history, her geographical position, and her material strength," Lord Curzon recognised that in recent years those claims had begun to receive more generous treatment, especially in regard to financial arrangements, though he clearly indicated that in his opinion there was still room for sustained vigilance on the part of those entrusted with her interests. It might surprise, he characteristically added, some of the more embittered critics of British rule if they knew how bold a struggle had often been waged for the defence of the Indian tax-payer by those much-abused rulers.

But Lord Curzon expresses satisfaction at the increased recognition of the claims of India and says : "In yet another respect the recognition of India as a partner in the Empire has made gratifying strides. When the first Imperial (then called Colonial) Conferences assembled in England in 1897 and 1902 no idea was entertained of inviting India to the council board. On the occasion of the last Conference, in 1907, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, attended the opening session, and deputed a member of his Council (Sir J. Mackay) to represent him at later sittings. I should like to see this principle carried further, and in the event of a Conference being held at any future date to discuss a revision of the fiscal system of the Empire, I think it would be well if the Indian Government were represented by its Finance Minister, in the same way as Colonial Governments send their Prime Ministers or leading statesmen. There is, of course, a difference between Dominions possessing responsible government and an Administration like that of India. But that difference is not sufficient to justify the total omission of an Indian representative from the table.

" Indian delegates are increasingly invited to take part in such conferences in other spheres. When I first went to India, I recall a Conference of Imperial Universities in England, to which no one had thought of inviting the representatives of the powerful and flourishing Indian Universities. But when the Federal Conference on Education met in London in 1907, each of the principal provinces of India had been invited to depute a delegate. India has a part in another and more august tribunal—viz., the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which is the Supreme Court of Appeal for the British Empire. Perhaps some day we shall have a Final Imperial Court of Appeal, sitting in something better than a dingy board-room, and by its powers, its constitution, and its *mise-en-scene* more fitly symbolizing the ultimate repository of British law."

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Lord Curzon then proceeded to examine the mutual profits India and the Empire gain by their connexion, discussed the part played by the Indian Army both at home and abroad, and by Indian labour in the building up of Imperial possessions and the services rendered by India to Great Britain in the sphere of every business and trade. He observed :—

“ That India is one of the main fields for the employment of British capital, that she supplies to us in abundance the raw material of a great deal of our industry and much of the food on which we live, and that she furnishes the richest market for our manufactures are propositions which are widely known. But in what relation the Indian trade stands to that of the Empire is less realized. One-tenth of the entire trade of the British Empire passes through the seaports of India ; and this seaborne trade is more than one-third of the trade of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. It is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined, and, within the Empire, Indian sea-borne trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom. India has become the largest producer of food and raw material in the Empire and the principal granary of Great Britain, the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat meal and flour from India exceeding those of Canada and being double those of Australia. At the same time India is the largest purchaser of British produce and manufactures and notably of cotton goods. Moreover, it must be remembered that under the existing system English cotton manufactures imported into India pay a duty only of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a countervailing excise duty of equivalent amount being at the same time levied on Indian manufactures. Contrast this with the heavy tariffs which British goods have to pay in the ports of our own colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. During the past three years the proportions of the import trade of India enjoyed by Great Britain have been 45, 48, and 57 millions, or a percentage of about 67 per cent. in each year ; her proportion of the exports has averaged 26 per cent. I might inundate you with further figures, but I think I have said enough to show how excellent a customer is India of Great Britain and what a part she plays in the commerce of the Empire. On the other hand, be it remembered, that the whole of the appliances by which this great trade has been built up—the roads, railroads, canals, harbours, docks, telegraphs, posts, &c., have been created during the period of British rule—and largely by capital supplied from this country.”

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Space prevents us from doing justice to Lord Curzon's masterly exposition of the material benefits which on the other hand the British connexion has conferred upon India, and we must confine ourselves to quoting in full the last, and perhaps the most interesting, portion of his address, in which he approached "a subject of much controversy"—the scope for the participation of Indians themselves in the government of their country. True to the traditions of Lord Curzon's Administration in India, he would insist that there are enough of Indians in the public Service and ominously hints at the insufficiency of English officials in certain districts. Observes his Lordship :

"Upon no subject is there more widespread misunderstanding. The Englishman proceeding to India may expect to see his own countrymen everywhere, and, above all, in the offices and buildings of government, in the Law Courts, and on the magisterial bench. As a matter of fact, except in the great cities, he will rarely come across an Englishman at all. I once visited a city of 80,000 people, in which there were only two official Englishmen, both of whom happened to be away. When we assumed the government of India the native agency was so notoriously inefficient and corrupt that the British were obliged to take control of all branches of the Administration. But ever since there has been a progressive reduction of the European, and increase of the native, element, until Indians now fill by far the greater number of the executive, magisterial, and judicial posts, entire classes of appointments being reserved for them either by definite rule or by unbroken practice. Figures were published when I was in India which showed that out of 28,300 Government servants drawing more than £60 a year—a high salary in India—21,800 were Indian or Eurasian inhabitants of the country. Below that figure the Indians practically sweep the board, and I have seen the total number of Government employes in India given as 1½ million Indians to 10,000 Europeans.

"It is, however, on the higher posts in the Government service, and more especially in executive offices (for on the judicial side Indians habitually rise to the higher rank), that the ambitions of the Nationalist party in India are fixed. Their demands have recently met with a success greatly beyond even their own expectations in the concessions made to them by Lord Morley, which open to Indians some of the highest places in the service. The justification of this confidence rests in their own hands. There is no difference on either side of politics as to the wisdom and

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necessity of a progressive increase in the employment of Indians in the administration of their country. No one would impose or defend a merely racial bar. The question at issue is rather, not what is the *maximum* number of offices that can safely be given to Indians, but what is the *minimum* number that must of necessity be reserved for Europeans. So long as British rule in India remains, and there is a consensus that it is absolutely indispensable, there must be a strong British *personnel* in the higher ranks of the Administration. There are, further, a number of posts for which special knowledge and acquirements are needed of which the supply in India is still deficient, or where native subordinates require the stimulus of European control. Consistently with these principles, the desire will be so far as possible to extend the area of Indian employment.

"Once again, however, I am disposed to attach far more weight to the benefits conferred by England upon India in the moral and intellectual than in the purely material sphere. Trade and industries, justice and good government, peace and security, wages and employment are an incalculable blessing to a people who before our arrival suffered from the triple scourge of robbery, indigence, and oppression. But they do not represent the whole or the best of our service to the Indian community. Our highest claim to their gratitude is that we have educated their character and emancipated their intelligence. All that is best in their thought and writings, the rising standards of morality, the gradual reduction of venality and superstition, even the dawn of a national spirit—all of these have been fostered by education which, with perhaps imperfect discrimination but with whole-hearted sincerity, we have placed at their disposal."

Referring to western civilization, the speaker said: "the instruments of Western civilization have lent a powerful though sometimes unconscious aid to this process. Railways and steamboats have not only bridged distances and helped to relieve distress, but they have broken down the barriers that separated races and communities and castes, and have exerted a unifying influence not merely in the interest of the rulers, but upon the ruled. Cables and telegraphs have brought the news of foreign incidents in Russia, in Persia, in Turkey, and in Japan, and they have facilitated common thought and common action in India. English law has supplied a meeting ground on which East and West could adjust relations that play a large part in the life of the Indian. English writings, taught in all the schools and colleges, have been absorbed with astonishing alacrity by intellects less gifted for research than for assimilation.

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Beyond any other cause the English language, filling much the same role as did Latin in the Europe of the Middle Ages, has proved the solvent of venerable prejudices and the astringent of new and patriotic emotions. The paradoxical point has even been attained that it is to the Englishman that India has to look for the preservation of her vernaculars. Any attempt to revive or enforce their study at the expense of English is viewed with intense suspicion by the advanced Indian party as an attempt to rob them of their newly-won patrimony. The proceedings at the annual Congress meetings are conducted in English, and I have even read of a speaker who commenced a speech in Hindustani being howled down."

Lord Curzon does not conceal his alarm at the progress of English education in India and observes :—" These symptoms are not all or wholly good. Many foolish things are written and said in India. Many vain aspirations are kindled, much yeasty sentiment is evolved. We have not rendered the task of the rulers more easy by consolidating the ruled and feeding their minds on a Western diet. But at least we have raised entire sections of the community from torpor to life, and have lifted India on to a higher moral plane. It is too early to say whether the eagle will one day be transfixed by the dart that is feathered with its own wing."

Of the new party in India, particularly about the grievances and aspirations of the Indian National Congress, Lord Curzon says :— " Let me here at once confess that the picture which I have drawn is not one which the extreme Nationalist in India would accept, any more than the Irish Nationalist would endorse the views of Whig or Tory about Ireland. While allowing that his countrymen have benefited greatly by the influence of Western thought and ideals, the Indian Radical believes, or affects to believe, that his country is the worse for British dominion. He argues that attachment to any foreign masters is *ipso facto* impossible, and that the only loyalty of true Indians is to themselves. He depicts India as held by the English for purposes of commercial and selfish exploitation, he asks why any or every post should not be open to him in the Administration of his country. He points to the excise duty on Indian cotton manufactures as having been imposed exclusively in the interests of Lancashire—as indeed it was—he complains that the highest officer in the Native Army can never rise to a rank which will allow him to give orders to the youngest British subaltern. He declares that the Indian Army is kept to fight British battles, he protests that the revenues of the country are exhausted in the discharge of foreign obligations ; and, when challenged about the place of India in the

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Empire he replies that the Empire is nothing to him since it cannot ensure for the Indian his rights as a British subject in Australia, or British Columbia, or the Transvaal.

"Many of these charges ignore the elementary fact that the rule of India is still, and must for as long as we can foresee remain, in British hands ; some of them rest on transparent fallacies or absurd paradoxes which my previous remarks have already refuted. But there are at least two among them so persistently repeated that I must devote a word to their examination. I refer to the popular charge of the so-called " Drain," and to the action of certain of our colonies in refusing admission to, or imposing harsh restrictions upon, the Indian settler.

" My own view is that while the bulk of the charges against British rule in India are quite unreasonable and rest upon gross misconception, we should do all that we can to remove any ground, if such there be, for their continued existence, and should guard diligently against their multiplication. The advantage of the union to both parties is so great and striking that we cannot afford to let its merits be obscured by carelessness or misunderstanding. British Governments and even Secretaries of State should be mindful, as they have the giant's strength, not to use it tyrannously, but to be very scrupulous in any conflict of interest. The contented incorporation of India in the Empire depends upon her feeling that the Empire is impartial as well as strong, and that she herself profits by the bargain."

" Lord Curzon finished his brilliant address with the following singular peroration : " I trust that my survey of a wide, but still only partially covered, field will have been sufficient to convince my hearers that the place of India in the Empire is one of the most momentous problems of modern statesmanship. They have followed my attempt to balance the two sides of the account ; and while I do not ask them to pass a verdict upon it, while I even refrain from formulating a verdict myself, I yet hope that enough has been said to show that India can no more prosper without the Empire than the Empire can prosper without India. Each is indispensable to the other, and in their recognition of this principle lies their mutual happiness and strength. If I be asked what is my view of the future and how I would meet its perplexities, I reply that I am not able to lift so much as the fringe of the curtain, but that I have a very clear idea as to the lines upon which the British nation and its rulers should proceed. I would say to them—Show a lively and sympathetic interest in Indian affairs, improve her

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agriculture, increase the productive capacity of the soil, extend railways and irrigation, encourage Indian manufactures, coax Indian capital, develop Indian industries, foster co-operation and self-help, guide her national aspirations into prudent channels, give her a sense of pride in the imperial partnership, place her at the "high table" in the banquet hall of the Empire-states, be not unduly disheartened by calumny, or dismayed by violent deeds, teach India the larger idea and maintain it yourselves. Above all, remember that India is still the great touchstone of British character and achievement, and with a high heart and a sober self-reliance go forward, and persevere to the end."

All this is very good, and perhaps indicates the right lines about the best method of governing India ; but there is something more to do than the above—the rulers must *trust* the ruled and never should they flout the public opinion of the latter. "The contented incorporation in the Empire" and "the solution of the most momentous problem of modern statesmanship" could both be secured at the same time by making India feel, not by empty platitudes but by sincere work, "a sense of pride in the Imperial partnership." What a pity Lord Curzon himself failed to take time by the forelock when the problem came to him for solution over and over again in India.

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

Rev. J. T. Sunderland, the American missionary whose generous and liberal instincts have never faltered to plead the cause of the suffering millions of India, gave a very interesting discourse on the above subject before the forty-second Annual Convention of the Free Religious Association of America held at Boston in last summer. The Rev. missionary begins by pointing out "several rather serious difficulties that confront India in taking her place in the brotherhood of Nations." The first, the speaker thinks, is "the fact that India is an Asiatic land and the Indian people an Asiatic people.....and Europe (and largely also America) has looked down with contempt upon Asia and everything oriental." This attitude of Europe towards India the speaker rightly condemns, for he observes : "Asia is the mother of races, the mother of nations, the mother of languages, the mother of the arts, and more than any other continent, the mother of the World's higher life, our own civilization sends its roots back in almost every particular into

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Asia." "Another obstacle," the speaker goes on, "exists in the fact that India is what we call a "heathen" land, and as Christians we are apt to regard ourselves as distinctly superior to the "heathen" not only in religion but in civilization." In this connection Rev. Sunderland administers a just rebuke to the missionaries in India most of whom, the speaker says, are able "to reach with their Gospel the lowest, most ignorant and most degraded classes" and in their ignorance of the "intelligence of India, the literature and art and better religious thought of India and the civilization of the land in its higher forms" give their countrymen "a more or less inadequate and biased reports" of the Indian religions ; and, the speaker continues, "when the people of India are represented to us in such a way as to cause us to look down upon them, if not with pride and arrogance, at least with pity born of condescension, the conditions essential for a genuine feeling of human brotherhood between us and them are destroyed."

Another difficulty of India in connection with human brotherhood the speaker mentions to be her being a subject country and Rev. Sunderland most fittingly gives prominence to this obstacle in the way of India and discusses it at considerable length. He says : "India is a dependency of Great Britain ; its people are held in subjection by the sword of an alien power ; they are not permitted to shape their own political destinies, but are ruled wholly by foreign masters. This condition of subjection is not only humiliating in the highest degree, but it is degrading. It is destructive of brotherhood." The speaker then cites one or two specific instances to show how India is most cruelly denied admittance into the brotherhood of nations and describes it as the worst outrage upon this principle of brotherhood to refuse her permission to have any "representation in the diplomatic life and service of the world." Another matter that stands in the way of promoting human brotherhood, the speaker considers, is the indifference of the Government of India to offer sufficient encouragement to Indian students trained in foreign countries. "If students could come in numbers from India," as they do from China and Japan, "they would render us a service in letting us see the better side of India, and showing us that the Indian people also are worthy of a place beside the people of the Western world. Thus would human brotherhood in the world be still further promoted." But when the few youngmen who make their way to foreign countries for study return to India, the Government of India "will neglect them, hinder them, discriminate against

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them, and give nearly every place of influence an importance not to them but to young Englishmen." "This," the speaker very tersely puts, "is how imperialism, the practice of one nation ruling another without its consent, destroys human brotherhood." The speaker regards it to be natural that "in attempting to justify herself before the world for holding India in subjection" England should try to make out that "the Indian people are an inferior race." This the speaker considers to be anything but truth. He observes : "The higher castes of India belong to the same ethnic family with you and me. They are Aryans ; they are cousins of the Greeks and the Romans, the Germans and the English. This is not a very inferior race.....India was a great civilized land long before England emerged from barbarism. She possessed one of the oldest and finest civilizations of the ancient world. The three great literatures of the ancient world that have come down to us are the Greek, the Latin and the Indian. Of the five or six greatest epic poems of mankind we should have to take two of them from India. The Sanskrit of India is ethnologically and historically the most important language in the world. Scholars are disposed to regard this ancient language of India as the most perfect of languages in structure of development, not even excepting the Greek. The Indian people have given to the world some of its greatest philosophical systems, worthy to stand beside those of Greece and Germany. They have given the world some of its best arts of several different kind." "These are the people that England finds herself all the while under pressure to write down and to make out to be inferior to what they really are" remarks the speaker. The speaker gives a trenchant reply to the excuse that England sets forth that she is in India to prevent the Indian people "from flying at each other's throats." Rev. Sunderland replies to this :—"So far as we can find out from history, India has always been a more peaceable land than Europe. We get trace of no wars in India so bad as the Thirty Years' War in Germany. There are none that compare in bloodshed with the Napoleonic Wars, and none so destructive of both property and life as our own Civil War in America. And yet would some foreign nation, some China, that happened to possess a high quality of fire-arms be justified in conquering all Europe and holding it in subjection in order to keep the peoples of Europe from flying at each other's throats." The plea of India being incapable of ruling herself the speaker describes as "an indictment against England." He observes : "For three thousand years before England's arrival, Indian kingdoms and empires had held leading places in

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Asia. Some of the ablest rulers, statesmen and financiers of the world have been of India's production. She was possessed of high civilization and of developed government long before England or any part of Europe had emerged from barbarism." "How is it then that she loses her ability to govern herself as soon as England appears upon the scene?" pertinently enquires the speaker.

"To be sure," continues Rev. Sunderland, "at that time she was in a peculiarly disorganised and unsettled state, for it should be remembered that the Mogul Empire was just breaking up, and new political adjustments were everywhere just being made,—a fact which accounts for England's being able to gain a political foothold in India. But everything indicates that if India had not been interfered with by European powers, she would soon have been under competent government of her own again." Another conclusive answer to this plea of unfitness of India to govern herself is the fact that, in parts, she is governing herself well. "It is notorious," observes Rev. Sunderland, "that the very best Government in India to-day is not that carried on by the British, but that of several of the Native States, notably Baroda and Mysore. In these States, particularly in Baroda, the people are more free, more prosperous, more contented, and are making more progress, than in any other part of India.....Mysore is spending on education more than three times as much per capita as is British India, while Baroda has made her education free and compulsory, a thing which no part of British India has dreamed of. Both of these States, but especially Baroda, which has thus placed herself in line with the leading nations of Europe and America by making provision for the education of all her children, may well be contrasted with British India, which provides education, even of the poorest kind, for only one boy in ten and one girl in one hundred and forty-four." This, the speaker rightly holds, gives the lie direct to the assertion that India cannot govern herself and insists that India can govern herself "reasonably well at first, excellently well later,—if only given a chance." "It would not be difficult to form an Indian Parliament to-day," continues Rev. Sunderland, for "among the leaders in the various states and provinces of India there is abundance of material to form an Indian National Parliament not inferior in intellectual ability or in moral worth to the Parliaments of the Western World."

Rev. Sunderland concludes this eminently interesting discourse with the following noble and inspiring words about the present awakening in India :

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"There is a new spirit in India; there is a new rising of hope and of determination among the Indian people, which is taking shape in the "New National Movement." It is the awakening and the protest of a subject people. It is the effort of a nation, once illustrious, and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust, to stand once more on its feet, to shake off fetters which have become unendurable. It is the effort of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country which shall be in some true sense their own, instead of remaining, as for a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power,—in John Stuart Mills' words, England's "cattle-farm." The people of India want the freedom which is their right,—freedom to shape their own institutions, their own industries, their own national life. They want a recognised and an honourable place both in the great brotherhood of humanity and in the great brotherhood of nations. They ought to have it. This does not necessarily mean—and this is clearly recognised by the leaders of the Indian people—separation from Great Britain; but it does mean, if retaining a connection with the British Empire, becoming citizens, and not remaining for ever helpless subjects and voteless helots in the hands of irresponsible masters. It does mean that India shall be given a place in the Empire essentially like that of Canada or Australia, with such autonomy and home rule as are enjoyed by these free, self-governing colonies. Is not this demand just? Not only the people of India, but many of the best Englishmen, answer unequivocably, yes! In the arduous struggle upon which India has entered to attain this end,—and arduous indeed her struggle must be, for holders of autocratic and irresponsible power seldom in this world surrender their power without being compelled,—surely she should have the sympathy of the enlightened and liberty-loving men and women of all nations."

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON DECENTRALIZATION IN INDIA

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson discusses in the October *Asiatic Quarterly Review* the importance of the agricultural classes in India and the recommendations of the Royal Decentralisation Commission to set the District Officer more free of control from above in order that relieved of the too heavy burden of his "desk work," he may have greater opportunities in mixing with the

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agriculturists and understanding their needs and requirements. "If the consequence of irritating and unnecessary interference by superior authority have the effect of swamping the District Officer with clerical duties, and thereby damping his ardour for other work, he will probably resign himself to the inevitable and either neglect altogether or slur over what it is essential he should do—keep his door open and listen to every one," warns Sir Robertson. The writer seems to be particularly impatient about the "insurance" of the agriculturists, whose "political importance," he thinks, "is undeniable," against the permeating influence of "dissatisfaction with our rule" and observes : "They want to be justly and considerately governed by men who understand their language and customs, are always accessible, and ready to listen sympathetically to grievances and requests for assistance. So long as these conditions are fulfilled, we shall retain our hold upon the country. The danger lies in allowing the administrative agency to become so stereotyped and machine-like that the personal guiding element, which is so potent a factor in the East, shall disappear, at a time, too, when pernicious counsels of peripatetic agitators are commencing to take effect."

"Efficiency at all hazards," continues Sir Robertson, "has been inscribed in large type on every page of modern Indian administrative history. It is in pursuit of this ideal, ignoring the necessity for elasticity in our methods, that we have run the ship on to the rocks of discontent, by appearing to evade the generous promise contained in the late Queen's Proclamation, and by severely hampering the District Officer's proceedings to the extent of rendering his authority merely nominal. Paradoxes abound and flourish in India, and, startling as it may appear to our countrymen over here, the statement that an efficiently governed India connotes a happy people, must be received with considerable qualification."

The writer approves of the recommendation of the Decentralization Commission to extend, for general adoption in India, the system which already obtains in the district management of some provinces, whereby "each district is split up into sub-divisions, in charge of an officer exercising large powers under the District Officer, whose functions would then consist mainly of control, and obviously desirable arrangement as tending to obviate much irksome detail, and enabling him to devote more time to supervision and observation. The head of the District has at present practically no leisure for what is of supreme importance—intercourse with the people." "The misdirected centralizing energy, which has had the effect of chaining

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the District Officer to his writing-table, continually to cope with endless bundles of papers," the writer thinks, is responsible for a considerable share of the blame" and he considers it "an elementary proposition in India that power begets respect," as he thinks he can "substantiate by overwhelming testimony drawn from recent occurrences" that it is extremely necessary that British administration must now be "supported by firm authority" in India. Under the circumstances Sir Robertson insists : "if district management be less thorough and sympathetic than it used to be, the cause for deterioration is to be found in our system. This annihilates individuality, and confines the authority of the man in a responsible position within such narrow limits that it is apt to be disregarded by the astute Oriental, who is an adept at sizing up the capacity and status of the "Shaheb" with whom he is brought in contact. The first *desideratum*, therefore, is to give this official some leisure from perpetual desk-work, so that he may look around, see with his own eyes how things are shaping, and learn at first hand all that is essential for him to know if he is to keep his finger upon the pulse of district life."

The writer further enthusiastically joins the Royal Commission in condemning the evil of a "too lengthy service in the Secretariats" which the Commission describes to be "a paper Government, marked by undesirable uniformity and rigidity" and proceeds to observe : "Young civilians who develop a crisp and clever style of writing are, at an early stage in their careers, sometimes before they have acquired sufficient acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people, or more than a book knowledge of any of the many dialects spoken, caught up to the Secretariats ; and, if they prove to be accurate workers, and clever critics of their more experienced brethren in the plains, often succeed in their being passed on from one head-quarter's appointment to another, and thus spend the best part of their official lives completely dissociated from district work. A special class is thereby formed, necessarily out of touch or sympathy with the agency upon which the welfare of the administration really pivots.It is far better that the Chief of the administration should suffer some slight inconvenience if papers are placed before him in a less polished and up-to-date style, rather than that by unsympathetic treatment the heart should be taken out of the District Officer to whom alone the appellation 'the man on the spot' can be correctly applied." The writer urges Lord Morley to assert his 'dominating personality' and not to trust the Government of India for remedying

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the defect just discussed and suggests the abolition of "a general staff on the civil side" which, he thinks, is "not required for India, and may conceivably degenerate into a mischievous nuisance." We only wish the writer could make some provision against the development into so many little despots of these district *Huzurs*, unfettered by checks from any quarter. In our opinion, a council of the people of the district to enlighten and guide the District Officer about the needs and requirements of the people alone could exercise a healthy control over the white official whom nobody would take as an infallible human being. The writer then laments the "regrettable ignorance of the vernaculars in some Provinces," blames the Government for their apathetic attitude in this matter, and urges them to "make the language tests more practical and strict, and refuse, after a certain date, to offer preferment to those who have neglected to qualify in this most important branch of their work." To effectively remedy this defect the writer recommends the substitution of "promotion by seniority, tempered by rare rejections of the obviously unfit by a thorough-going system of selection." In this suggestion we agree with the writer only if we are assured that racial consideration will not intervene in determining fitness. Sir Robertson concludes his paper with a hope that "these and many other valuable recommendations will not be obscured by more intricate questions, such as those of financial control, and allowed to fade away in the cold shade of official disfavour, eventually to disappear out of sight, following in the wake of many similar proposals for the better Government of India" and if all this is properly carried out he is confident that "improvement will be brought about automatically, and it should be impossible for anarchism, or any secret organization, to obtain or retain any hold in the country."

THE DRAMATIC INSTINCT IN INDIA

Mr. Glyn Barlow contributes an appreciative article on the above subject to the last number of the *Indian Review*. "The dramatic instinct," begins the writer, "exists in a very high degree in the people of India. It is seen in their faces, it is seen in their movements, and it is heard—though not always in beauty—in their voices in the street." After alluding to the greater fondness in India for stage-plays than in England, the writer refers to the "evidences of dramatic instincts in the Indian's gestures, in the tones of his voice and dramatic touches in his talk." The

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writer administers a well-merited rebuke to those Europeans who, judging the people by the "clerk patiently toiling at his ledger in their office," sneer at the lack of dramatic spirit in them and proceeds with some instances illustrating the existence of dramatic spirit in the people of India. Mr. Barlow has not kept himself aloof from the Indian Society but has mixed with the people freely and mixed with some purpose—to study their customs with a generous and philosophic eye and to gather truths from common-places of everyday Indian life which to the average foreigner appear nothing but a tissue of prejudices and superstition. He finds this instinctive dramatic spirit in the story-telling village woman as well as in the open-hearted melodies of an unlettered shepherd boy as also in the magnificent state-processions of the Native States and observes : "Indian conditions contribute very largely to the development of a dramatic spirit. The squalor, of which there is so much in India, and which must tend to dull dramatic instincts, is more than counterbalanced by the abundance of life and colour that exists. Indian festivals are many ; each village too has its own particular festivals, which the inhabitants of surrounding villages attend ; and village holidays, therefore, are numerous. On every holiday there is a genuine freshness of spirit abroad, and, what with the bright blue of the Indian sky, and the bright glitter of the village tank, and the bright green of the rice-fields, and the bright hues of the holiday raiment, there is brightness indeed, such as no scenic stage could imitate." Referring to the great advantages that a youngman derives from taking part in a dramatic performance, Professor Barlow observes : "I have made dramatic performances a distinctive feature in Colleges that have been under my control. There are few things that can draw a youngman out of himself so effectually as taking part in a play.....the appearance in public is of great worth in rubbing off shyness and in giving a youngman a spirit of self-confidence that will be of very great use to him in after-life." Prof. Barlow is of opinion that many of the Indian students are gifted "with a very large degree of latent dramatic talent" and says that he has found many of the best actors in England and on the continent and can say that Indian students whether acting a Shakespearian tragedy or a screaming farce are "good all round." The writer then alludes to the gradual progress of the professional drama and concludes his interesting article with the following remarks on the usefulness of the drama and the necessity of preserving the latent dramatic instinct of the Indian people and giving it a right direction :—

THE DRAMATIC INSTINCT IN INDIA

"The purpose of this article is to impress upon Indian readers that India has a greater power in the dramatic instincts of her people. National drama is a tremendous force either for good or for evil ; and influential Indians should see to it that in India it is a force for good. There is a tendency on the part of better-class Indians to ignore the theatre—to regard stage-playing as an unworthy class of entertainment, from which right-minded men and women should keep aloof. Under such circumstances the dramatist has to lay himself out to satisfy the tastes of a lower order of the people, and the drama becomes a force for evil. I remember being present at an Indian theatre at a performance of *Sakuntala*. The scene in which the Prince meets the girl in the forest was made an occasion for a lascivious episode, half farcical, half filthy ; and I heard the one or two Indian gentlemen who were present lamenting that a national drama should be so debased.

"The strong dramatic instincts of the people of India are a national asset, which should be turned to the best possible account. Indian gentlemen should unite to encourage the drama ; and it is a matter of satisfaction to know that a good beginning has been made. It would be an excellent thing if there could be a 'national theatre' in each large town—a handsome building, in which the drama, purified of indecency, staged with proper surroundings, might find a recognised home. Good actors, professional and amateurs, could make use of the building, and the drama would flourish. The trustees of the building could lease it or let it to the players, and, what with additional uses to which the building could be put it might easily be made at least to pay its own way.

"Under such conditions, the national drama would be preserved in its purity, and men might take their wives and daughters to the theatre without any fear lest their modesty should be shocked. New plays would be produced, and literary effort would be encouraged. Public movements, moreover, would find support on the stage, and the stage, it may be remembered, is even a more powerful agency than the newspaper in stirring public feeling. In a word, the drama would be given a very real place in the life of the people."

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE FIGHT OF THE SKINS : WHITE vs. BROWN

[*The Indians of South Africa: Helots within the Empire and How They are Treated*: By Henry S. L. POLAK ; published by Messrs Natesan & Co., Madras.]

It is an unparalleled record of shame and cruelty—almost a tragedy of the Empire that Mr. Polak presents to his readers in the short treatise under review. The Indians in South Africa are scattered in Natal, in the Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, the Cape Colony and the Portuguese Province of Mozambique and nowhere their condition rises above that of the helots of the ancient Roman Empire.

When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain waged war against President Kruger at the end of the last century, the English Cabinet then in power justified the war, among other grounds, on the brutal treatment accorded to the Asiatics by the Boer Republic. A high hope was therefore entertained with the establishment of British power in the Transvaal that the Indians would no longer be regarded as mere slaves or helots ; but unfortunately, as ill luck would have it, this hope has been dashed to the ground and Indians of South Africa have been reduced to a more miserable plight than they were under the little Dutch State.

Of course the Transvaal and Natal contain between them by far the greatest number of Indian immigrants and in these provinces a physical, moral, legal, educational and administrative war had been raised against all people going over from this side of the Indian Ocean. The Indians in these two British provinces are not treated as civilized beings and are subject to all sorts of inhuman treatment. They are not, however great, cultured, rich, or respectable they may be, allowed to live in all parts of the principal towns and cities, to travel in the upper classes in the railways with Europeans, to take out on hire or lease any houses they like, to walk at all hours of the day and night in all parts of the country and, worst of all, they are not permitted to send their children to most of the public schools and colleges in the South African sub-continent. This is sufficient to send a shudder of thrill and agony into the heart of every Asiatic, for that shows how deep down has gone the colour prejudice into the

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heart of every man that has been accidentally clothed with a white skin.

Analysing carefully the subject in question one finds that this war of white skin against yellow, brown and black skin is a conflict which dates its origin from time immemorial. In ancient times the war was waged in a more sincere and straightforward way and nobody did the fight behind any veil. The white men of the present day wage the same war in a more insidious and diplomatic way. It may be that the West has not yet come to know the East intimately and behind unfamiliar or coloured skin the white man may consider lying all the filth of the world. Whether owing to ignorance or colour-prejudice or race-hatred the bitterness of the strife must be admitted to be a most disgraceful episode in the history of the human race. In a *Modern Utopia*, Mr. H. G. Wells, the eminent English writer makes some very pertinent observations on this subject :

"Just now, the world is in a sort of delirium about race and the racial struggle.....The vileness, the inhumanity, the incompatibility of alien races is being exaggerated. The natural tendency of every human being towards a stupid conceit in himself and in his kind, a stupid depreciation of all unlikeness, is traded upon by this bastard science. With the weakening of national references, and with the pause before the reconstruction in religious belief, these new arbitrary and unsubstantial race-prejudices become daily more formidable. They are shaping policies and modifying laws, and they will certainly be responsible for a large proportion of the wars, hardships, and cruelties the immediate future holds in store for our earth. No generalisations of race are too extravagant for the inflamed credulity of the present time.

"No attempt is ever made to distinguish differences in inherent quality—the true racial differences—from artificial differences due to culture. No lesson seems ever to be drawn from history of the fluctuating incidence of the civilising process, first upon this race and then upon that. The politically ascendant peoples of the present phase are understood to be the superior races, including such types as the Sussex farm-labourer, the Bowery tough, the London hooligan, and the Paris apache ; the races not at present prospering politically such as the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Spanish, the Moors, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Peruvians, and all uncivilised people, are represented as the inferior races, unfit to associate with the former on terms of equality, unfit to intermarry with them on any terms, unfit for any decisive voice in human affairs. In the popular

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imagination of Western Europe [and South Africa] the Chinese are becoming bright gamboge in colour, and unspeakably abominable in every respect ; the people who are black—the people who have fuzzy hair, and flattish noses, and no calves to speak of—are no longer held to be within the pale of humanity. These superstitions work out along the obvious lines of the popular logic. The depopulation of the Congo Free State by the Belgians, the horrible massacre of Chinese by the European soldiers during the Pekin expedition, are condoned as a painful, but necessary, part of the civilising process of the world. The world-wide repudiation of slavery in the nineteenth century was done against a vast, sullen force of ignorant pride, which, reinvigorated by new delusions, swings back again to power. 'Science' is supposed to lend its sanction to race-mania, but it is only 'science' as it is understood by very illiterate people that does anything of the sort—scientists' science, in fact."

Whatever the view of modern history or modern science may be on this race-mania, the lesson the white man has taught the black and the brown in Austral Africa is too bitter for expression, too deep for tears. In the language of Mr. Polak :—"The lesson is one of faith betrayed and broken pledges, bitter humiliation, cruel slander, strong hatred, vindictive revenge, sudden ruin, sometimes even of dispersed families, abandoned women and emasculated men." It is no wonder that under these circumstances the iron should have eaten deep into the souls of our South African compatriots. Yet there is none so bold in the whole South African sub-continent who would deny the spirit of enterprise and foresight, industry and thrift, the public spirit and fortitude of the Indian immigrants who have so materially aided in the development of the commerce, industry and agriculture of these British Colonies.

It is difficult to discuss at length the disabilities and the grievances of the South African Indians in the short compass of a review, but the most galling of them all appear to be the conditions of indentured labour, the withdrawal of trade licenses from even long-established and reputed Indian firms and the indignity of the Registration Act. As regards the life of an indentured Indian an Englishman has characterised it in the columns of the *Natal Advertiser* as 'a hell upon earth in many instances.' Lest many of our readers may not understand what indentured labour really mean, we give the following extract from Mr. Polak's treatise :

"Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature entered into, not under the common law of the country, but under a Statute specially

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devised to meet the case. The labourer never knows to what employer he is to be allotted, being required to enter into his contract in India, and to consent to allotment to any employer that the Protector may choose for him. Between the master and the servant, under such law, there can be no human relationship, save such as may often be observed between an owner and his cattle. And, as a matter of fact, the Indian labourer is often regarded by his employer as of less account than a good beast, for the latter costs money to replace, whereas the former is a cheap commodity. The system, too, is unfair in its incidence, for the balance of advantage in the contract of service lies always with the employer and never with the employed. So long as breach of contract on the part of the labourer is *always* (and on that of the employer *seldom*) regarded as a criminal and not as a civil matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any light other than that of a system perilously approaching one of servile conditions, and this quite independently of what may obtain in other parts of the world, where conditions may be better or worse."

And yet it must be remembered that more than half of the entire Indian population in South Africa consist of indentured 'coolies.' They are all 'coolies' in South Africa, educated or not, high or low. We hope our readers will forgive us to make another extract from this painful story.

"The only Municipality, in the Cape Colony, where there are specific anti-Indian by-laws is East London. In this unique town, municipal regulations were promulgated under Act No. II of 1895, by virtue whereof British Indians, even though considerable merchants, registered voters, and large rate-payers, have been reduced to the status of the African aboriginal native. These regulations prohibit their using the side-walks in the public streets ; being out in the streets after 8 P.M. without a pass ; residing and carrying on their business, within certain limits of the municipal area, except upon securing a municipal certificate—literally a *police pass*—both which first-mentioned disabilities have been considered by the best legal opinion in the Colony to be *ultra vires*. Whilst the East London Indians are thus legally and practically deprived of their full individual liberty, and placed below the level of their own Kaffir servants, they have, as masters and employers, to grant permits allowing freedom of movement in the town to these very servants, who are also otherwise protected and whose interests are safeguarded by special legislation. Many other petty insults are put upon them, such as not being allowed the use of the benches in the

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public parks, which benches are marked "for Europeans only ;" the ferry boats on the Buffalo River are barred to them, except with considerable trouble and inconvenience ; in the public markets, British Indians are relegated with the Kaffirs, whilst the white people are granted separate stands ; and in the public tram-cars, Indians are not allowed inside. As these are municipal regulations, the Cape Government, though sympathetic, can do nothing to procure relief."

We have finished with our review and it would be most ungracious to conclude it without a word of sincere admiration for that small band of Indians who, in a different climate and under most trying circumstances, are doing all that man can do to elevate and invest with dignity the good name of their motherland. At the present day several hundreds of these men are undergoing severe terms of imprisonment in His Majesty's Jails and are receiving treatment of the kind which is accorded to Kafir convicts. On the top of this band stands the intrepid Mr. Gandhi, the most self-less and courageous worker that India has produced for many a long day. However savage a treatment Mr. Gandhi and his friends may receive in the land of their exile, however brutal and inhuman may be the treatment which a so-called civilized government may be meting out to them, and whatever may be the ultimate issue of the struggle, the whole civilized world is watching to-day with keen interest the great and the manly war that has been raged in South Africa to establish the superiority of soul-force over brute force and the equality of manhood behind the white as well as the brown or black skin. It may be a hopeless business to put down the phrenetic outburst of race-mania or to do away with the trade jealousy or the coloured prejudice that may be at the bottom of the whole business, but the self-less struggle that our friends on the other side of the Indian Ocean are maintaining on behalf of India and the betterment of conditions and status of the Indian settlers must remain for a long time a glorious chapter in Indian history.

AN INDIAN SPECULATION

[*"The Sun a Habitable Body like the Earth*—by Mr. Benoy-bhusan Raha Dass.]

This is a book which is unique in its contents. The author has taken a great deal of pains to collect various informations about solar physics and propounds an ingenious theory that the sun is a habitable body like the planet we inhabit. That the sun has got

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on its surface lands and waters and that the light issuing from the corona and prominences is due to electrical induction between the sun on the one hand and planets on the other ; that the sun-spots have been hollow seas on the surface of the sun ; that the tails of comets are repelled by electricity of the sun away from itself ; that if we mortal inhabitants of the earth were transferred to the sun we might find no difficulty in continuing our existence there,—these are the various propositions which our author has endeavoured to prove but all in vain.

It is true that with the advent of big sun-spots, magnetic disturbances occur on the earth and that sun-spots occur in great numbers after an approximate cycle of eleven years' period ; but our author does not give any account why sun-spots sometimes occur even when the planets do not come nearer to exert a greater inductive influence.

Spectroscopic researches have conclusively proved that gases give out bright lines but when gases are compressed and when incandescent at the same time, the lines broaden out into a continuous spectrum. If there be a gaseous envelope in an incandescent condition surrounding a solid or a liquid incandescent mass, then bright lines and continuous and discontinuous spectra can be obtained under different circumstances.

Such facts are seen during all spectrum analyses. And the irresistible conclusion is that the sun is a very hot mass.

If there had been water on its surface this water would have either been decomposed into hydrogen and oxygen by electricity or else it would be rendered into steam and dissociated into oxygen and hydrogen any how—and could not exist in the condition of liquid as our author ventures to suggest. Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) starting from the theory of conduction of heat and from dissipation of energy came to the conclusion "that the sun is at present merely an incandescent liquid mass cooling."

As regards the repulsion of the tail of comets we confess we have no satisfactory theory.*

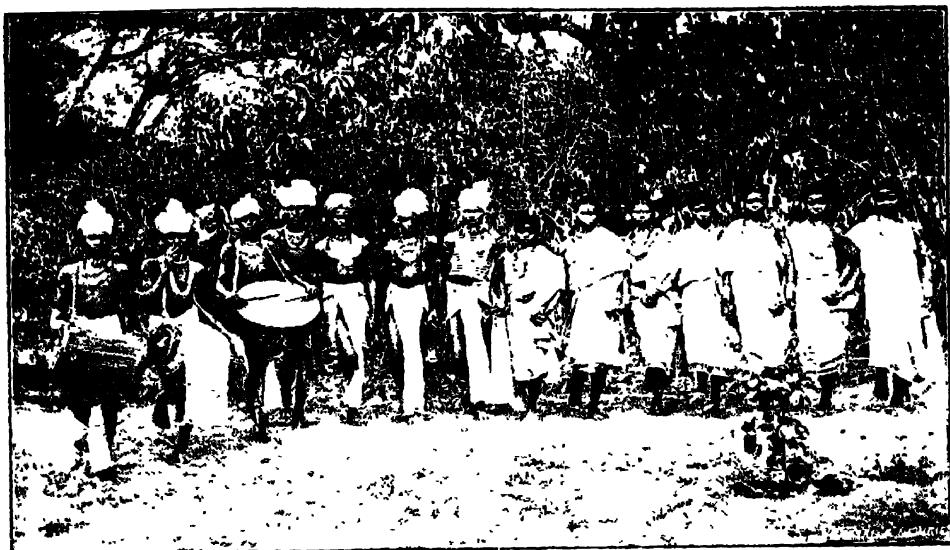
There are some passages in this treatise which are rather obscure. For example in page 43 : "It has already been proved that the spots are nothing but waters." Such a thing has not really been

* Sir William Thomson in his Presidential address at the British Association in 1871 said :—"According to Tait's theory of comets, it is a group of meteoritic stones ; is self-luminous in its nucleus, on account of collisions among its constituents, while its "tail" is merely a portion of the less dense part of the train illuminated by sun-light and visible or invisible to us according to circumstances not only of density or degree of illumination and nearness, but also of tactic arrangement as of a flock of birds or the edge of a cloud of tobacco smoke !"

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proved at all ; only by analogy such a line of argument can be started. In Page 44. " We see so on our earth also. Seeing the map of the rivers falling into the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea we can understand how the rivers in the sun also can give rise to *penumbra*". Where is the analogy we cannot easily make out. In Page 56 : " Actually prominences are caused by nothing thrown upwards from the inner part of the sun. When electric currents are discharged upwards, the atmosphere of the sun for its resistance becomes illuminated in its path, as a platinum wire in the electric light," but by application of Doppler's principle it is proved that masses of incandescent gas move with immense but measurable velocity in the prominences. In Page 117 : " As there can be heat without light so there can be light without heat. Men are living in Siberian cold and in Indian heat, men are living in the Cornwall mines and on the Marwar hills. Why sun should not be habitable even if there be more heat and light than earth ? " We confess we do not grasp the argument. Heat and light are due to the undulation of the etherial medium ; only a question of degree is the point of difference between them. Professor Langley's Bolometer found that even moon-light and phosphorescent light gives out some quantity of heat, however small it might be.

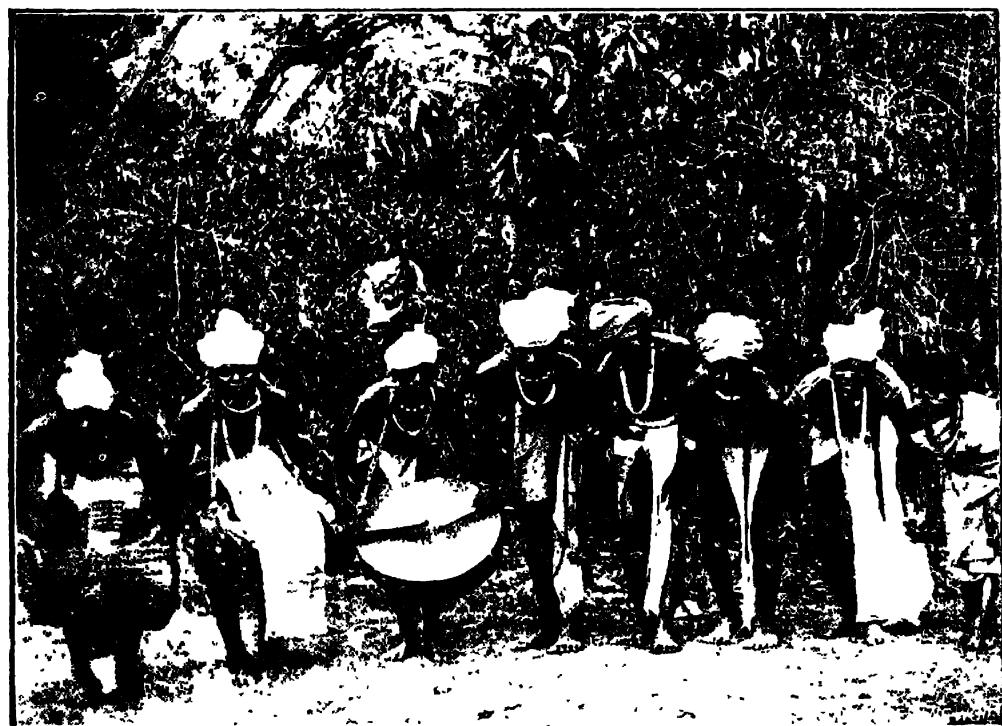
Inspite of all these criticisms we find the book rather interesting. It contains a good deal of information from different sources and this is likely to help as a work of reference all students of Natural Philosophy. We also welcome the treatise as a speculative study by an Indian student in the region of the physical sciences.



Munda Dance



GHOSH & NEWMAYER



Munda Dance

ARTICLES

THE MUNDARI POETRY

(Continued from the June Number)

Rice and rice-beer are the principal food and drink that nourish the Munda's body and cheer his spirits. In the following song, we hear a Munda couple bewailing their lot on being prevented by the rising flood of a hill-stream from carrying home rice and rice-beer for their children.

[JADUR.]

*Mirang gara do kaubautana,
Hela re gatinglang Kesedjana
Huring gara do ebetebetana,
Helare sanggainglang darabarajana.
Helare gatinglang Kesedjana,
Tungkiri chaulido Kesedjana,
Helare sanggainglang dararajana.
Chature ili do dararajana.
Tungkiri chaulido Kesedjana,
Chire gating chenalang menea ?
Chature ilido dararajana,
Chire Sanggaing chenalangmenea ?*

[TRANSLATION]

There roll and surge, the sounding waves,
On yon broad river high ;
Alas ! my dear, thus stranded here,
On river's bank we sigh.
E'en tiny stream, now filled to brim,
Rush rippling on with speed,
And now, alas ! We cannot pass,
The streams our course impede.
Alas ! my dear ! Thus stranded here,
With basket full of rice,
The streams, alas ! We cannot cross,
Here rots our rice-beer nice !

If the sudden floods of his native hill-streams are a source of occasional inconvenience and insecurity to the Munda, more frightful is the danger on land and water from the wild beasts and venomous serpents that infest his native forests. Listen to the Munda parent, in the following song, warning his child against these terrors of his native woods and streams :—

[JADUR.]

*Birko norante, maina, nalom sesena, maina.
Garako, paromtea, maina, nalom, nonora.
Birika noranre do, maina, kula dubakanee maina,
Garako noranre do, mcina, bing menaia.
Kula jomekemredo, maina, disum disummeing maina.
Darabai amereo, maina, kaing nammea,
Ringkohuakemredo, maina, gamai gamai, maina
Niam nojora, maina king nammea.*

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[TRANSLATION.]

O ! do not tread yon forest road, my dove,
Nor wend thy way across yon river, love.
A tiger on jungle's path doth sit astride,
And snakes infest the ford across yon tide.
O should that tiger thee, my child, devour,
Oh vainly shall I seek thee far and near.
If serpent fell, my love, should swallow thee
Where'er I go, thy face no more I'll see.

Nor are the horrors of drought and famine unknown to the Munda. Like all agriculturists in India, the Munda depends on the annual rainfall for the crops that sustain his life. And dearth of rain conjures up before him the spectre of an impending famine. We have in the following song a realistic description by the Munda poet of the effects of drought :—

[KARAM.]

*Note ho dudugar,
Si ma ho kousi.
Nimindin da-ge banoa.
Chimente kage gamaia ?
Asur Saon moyod rati ho banoa,
Bhadorge dharti nore jana.
Chimente kage gamaia ?
Sirmare Singbonga,
Otere marangdeota ;
Chimente kage, gamaia ?
Lai-renge da-tetan,
Jige senot-ada.*

[TRANSLATION.]

Dry dust is blowing,
The earth o'erflowing,
Grey mist doth cover
The sky all over,
No rains on earth we get .

In Ashar and Saon
Not a drop of rain,
Comes Bhado south,
Heat rends the earth,
O ! Why, no rains as yet ?

There up in heav'n,
Doth Sun-God reign ;
And down below,
The Marang-Deo ;
Yet why no more it rain'th

The pangs of hunger,
Bring death-like langour,
And thirst severe,
In drought so drear,
We stand on the' brink of death!

Inspite of the many dangers on land and water that beset his path, and the scourge of drought and famine that occasionally afflicts him, the Munda is by no means impervious to the lively excitements of the senses. A lovely landscape, the sight of beautiful flowers, the green and yellow crops on his fields, these and other beauties of Nature, thrill the Munda, as we have seen, with

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unspeakable delight. The rare sight of the gaudy retinue of big people, the less imposing but not less curious sight of the Hindu or Muhammadan pedlar with his pack-horses and pack-bullocks carrying novel merchandise, the strange appearance of a Hindu Sadhu or ascetic,—make the average Munda gape with amazement, and the Munda poet expresses his wonder and his amusement in songs like the following :—

[JADUR.]

*Siri pargana hesa subare,
Sadomdoe susuntanae ;
Pokar pind Rajahandare,
Paiki doe khelouditanae
Sadomdoe susuntanae
Litige loponge :
Paiki doe Khelouditana
Notange Kuare*

[TRANSLATION.]

In Siri 'neath a spreading *pipar* tree,
Behold a pony prancing quick !
Beside yon lovely tank of Raja-band,
Behold a *paiki* * whirl his stick !
How nice that pony there doth prance about,
And pulverise the earth below !
And look how quick that *paiki* whirl his stick,
Thick curls of dust about him blow !

Although the Munda is not over-pleased at the sight of strangers and foreigners, he is extremely hospitable to his own tribesmen, relatives and friends. When a welcome guest is expected, the Munda gets his choicest viands in readiness, and the pleasurable trepidation of the Munda's heart may be perceived in all his movements. Thus in the following song, we have a description of the affectionate care with which a Munda girl is trying to get up a dinner to welcome a young friend of the family to whom she is attached :—

[JADUR]

*Okoe hijutan, chaulim chapitan ?
Chimae setertan rambaran salatan ?
Gatim hijutan chaulim chapitan,
Sangam setertan, rambaran salatan.
Chitem aiiumli chaulim chapitan ?
Meratem atenli rambaran salatan ?
Kata peredo richi gugura,
Maiang peredo besera dambarkom ;
Richi gugura riringkenado,
Besera dambarkom rarangkenado :
Enagegeho chaulim chapitanado,
Enagege ho rambaran salatanado.*

* A retainer (*lathial*) of some Raja or big Zemindar.

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[TRANSLATION.]

For whom, my girl, that rice thou wash'st with care ?
For whom dost clean those peas with hands so fair ?
Thy lover comes, I ween, for him so nice,
Those peas dost cleanse, for him dost wash that rice.
How know'st thou thy lover comes this e'en,
That thou dost wash that rice, those peas dost clean ?
About his legs such bells as falcons wear,
Around his waist big bells as *besras* bear,
Small *richi* bells, they jingle sweet and boon,
Big *besra*-bells they clink in merry tune !

The Munda is brimful of good humour and delight when he meets his friends and relatives. And in the exuberance of his heart, the Munda tries to be witty and humorous in his own way. Many of his songs give us a glimpse of the social virtues of the Munda. In the following song, we are introduced to some welcome guests arriving at a Munda's hut. The master of the house asks his wife to bring out a mat of palm-leaves for the guests to sit upon. The genial wife with her eyes twinkling with mirth jestingly replies that there is no mat or any other seat in the house nor a single grain of rice to make up a meal. The husband joyfully takes up the jest and with a roguish smile lighting up his eyes and playing at the corners of his mouth informs his guests that they will have a sumptuous dinner with Duke Humphrey and will have mother earth for a bed that night.

[LAHSUA.]

Singido dubuijan,
Kupulko hijujan
Saonarige, pati bilakom.
Ganduo hanojan
Patio hanojan
Marea otereko dubarikakom.
Kochakochaing
Honorkeadaing
Beso kageing namojan.
Helaia kupulko,
Patio hanojan,
Besao hanojan, samagekigitika.

[TRANSLATION.]

[Host.] The sun is set,
Good friends, well met.*
Spread out the mat for them, my dear.

[Hostess.] We mats have none,
Nor *gandus*† own.
O, let them sit on th'bare earth here.
Each cranny and nook,
For grains I did look,
Not a grain of rice for them I found.

[Host.] Dear friends, how nice !
No mat, nor rice !
Lie down to sleep on this bare ground !

* Literally, relatives are arrived.

† *Gandus* are wooden seats.

THE MUNDARI POETRY

The reader may picture to himself the merry peals of laughter that follow such simple jests.

If the Munda is all benevolence and complacence when he meets friends and relatives, he boils with fierce indignation and unutterable hatred at the sight of his oppressors and enemies. The Hindu and Mahomedan merchant and money-lender, and the alien *thikadar*, *jagirdar*, or *nilamdar* of his village, are the greatest eye-sores to the Munda. The merchant and the money-lender, year in year out, fleecing him to their heart's content, and the alien *Diku* often bent on reducing the Munda from his former position of a village land-lord to that of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, are indignantly compared by the Munda poet to the blood-sucking kite and the greedy vulture, the ominous crow, the sullen owl, and the vain-glorious peacock.

In the following song we hear how a troop of outlandish pedlars who enter a Munda village with cheap trinkets which they want to palm off on the unsuspecting Mundas as valuable articles, are refused admittance into the village-*basti*.

[MAGE.]

*Naku nakuja daromda
Kurid ko lapaluriaga
Naku nakuja agamariko
Geon geona
Uduboko jojoko jumbulae
Udubako pega
Chundulakope uliko ambarain
Chundulakopega
Kako sukujan
Jojoko jumbulai
Kako sukujanga.*

[TRANSLATION.]

These kites have hither wing'd their way,
A-thirst for water clear
These greedy geese with graceful swing,
Thus wend their way up here.
Oh ! take them where yon tam'rind tree
Doth stand,—do take them there :
Point out to them yon mango grove,
O, let them there repair.
The tam'rind tree, they do not like.
It does not please them so.
Yon mango grove these geese mislike,
Ill-pleas'd are they, I trow.

It is against the alien *diku* or landlord that the Munda's feelings are most bitter. In the following song, which is one of the most spirited Mundari songs we have come across, the Munda poet bewails the condition of his country over which, to use the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Slacke in his speech in the Bengal Council on the 18th July. 1903, "a horde of middlemen were let loose by the

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then Maharajah of Chota Nagpur" towards the beginning of the last century :—

[JADUR.]

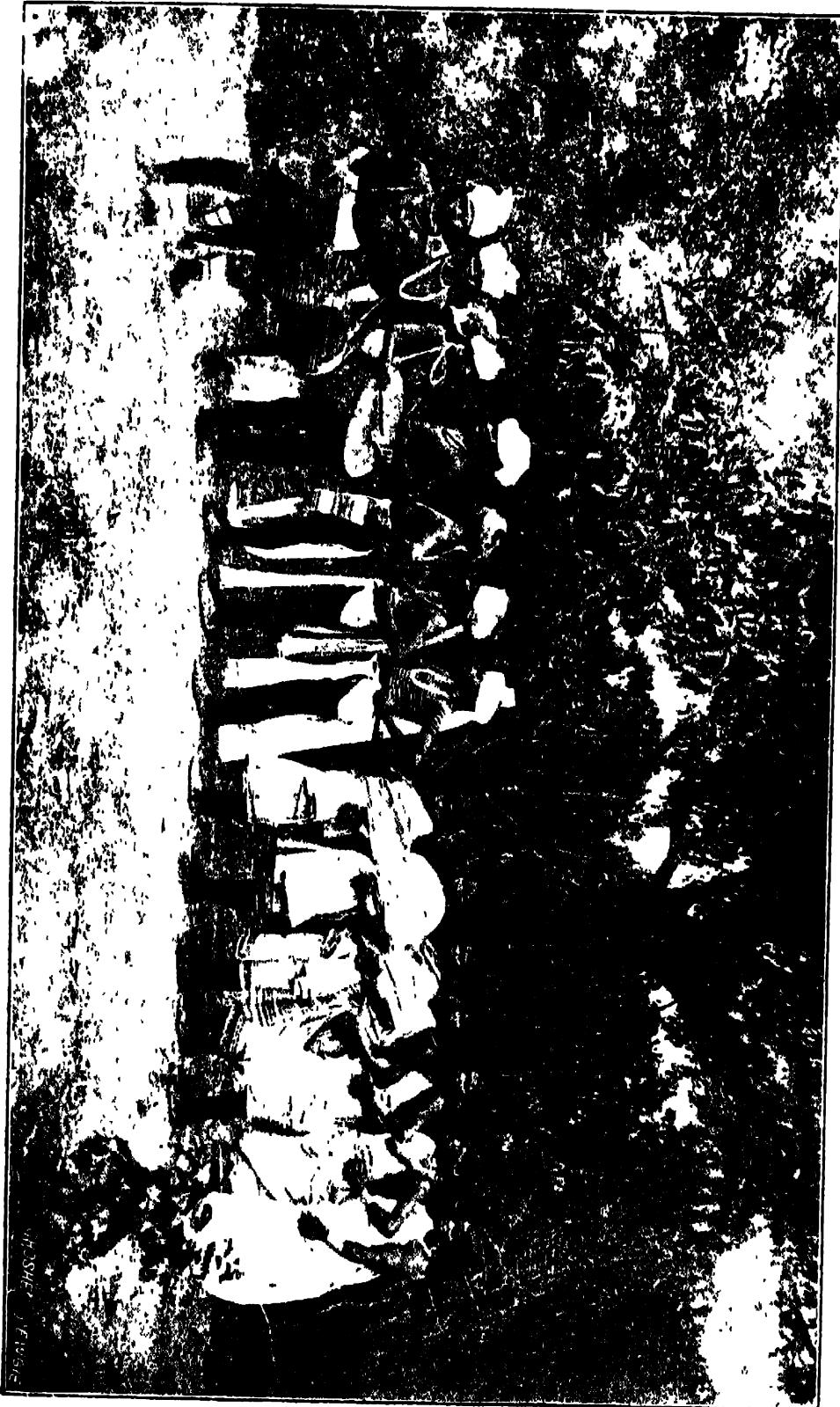
*Note m' t'ribachi sirmam' sangin,
Kokordojanaji marangenjana,
Note m' t'ribachi sirmam sangin,
Kokordojanaji rajanjana.
Mara dojanaji marangenjana,
Kokordojanaji rajanjana,
Natu natu kauko diguarjana,
Mara dojanaji marangenjana.
Disum disum kauko kotoar jana,
Natu natu kauko diguarjana,
Natu mundiko taiurtana,
Natu mundako nekelatana.
Disum Bhuihar taiurtana,
Natu mundiko nekelatana,
Borote gegako nekelatana,
Chiritegegako taiurtana.*

[TRANSLATION.]

Look where thou wilt, dear, wherever eye gazes,
Up to the sky or below to the earth,
Men of mean blood will thou meet in high places,
Owls pose as lords, dear, the owls of low birth.
Struts the vain peacock in glory of plumage,
Owls pass for lords, dear, the owls of low birth
Look how the crow rules as Diguar each village
Peacocks are grown great beings on earth.
Rules the vile crow now as koluar all over,
Now hath each village for Diguar a crow.
Mundas of hamlets now tremble and shiver,
They that were owners of hamlets ere now.
Bhuinhars all over now quake and quiver,
Mundas of hamlets now tremble with fear
Dikus supreme now do reign the land over,
Mundas of hamlets have lost their old cheer.

This state of things naturally called for redress. And the Almighty in His Providence brought the mighty British Lion to the rescue of this people. Unfortunately for the Mundas, however, it took the British Government about a century to realise the true position and legitimate rights of the Mundas. And by the time that the benign British Government sought to protect the Mundas by enacting Bengal Act V of 1903, incalculable mischief had already been done to the majority of the Mundas, and much of that mischief was past all remedy. The advent of the British was, however, hailed at the time with a sigh of relief by the Munda. And hear how in his songs he cherishes the memory of the day which saw uplifted in his land—

“The fair streamer of England which floats o'er the brave,
The fairest unfurled o'er the land or the wave,
The brightest in story and matchless in fight,
The herald of Mercy as well as of might” :—



Dan



Munda Prince

THE MUNDARI POETRY

[JADUR.]

*Kalikata telengako rakablena,
Nokora najinako drrakeda ?
Sarghati sahehko uparlena,
Chimaere najinako basakeda
Mena menado Ranchipiri,
Ranchi pirire derakeda.
Mena menado Durundabadi,
Durunda badireko baasa-keda.
Ranchi-pirircko dera-keda,
Ranchi-piri kare nekelajana.
Durunda-badireko baasa-keda,
Durunda-badi chiru taiurtana.*

[TRANSLATION].

Soldiers from Calcutta hither came,
Say, where, Grandmother, did they stay ?
The Sarghati sahebs high in fame,
Where they encamped, grandmother say.
Uplands of Ranchi tower high,
On Ranchi uplands did they stay.
Bleak badi lands in Dornda lie,
There their encampments gleaming lay.
Pitched their pavilions on Ranchi wastes,
The grass in the fields did quake anon.
They fixed their tents where Durn'da rests,
Trembled the tall grass they trod upon.

Such are a few gleanings from the vast store-house of simple songs which cheer the toil-worn sons and daughters of the Munda at the close of a laborious day. Songs like these mirror forth the better side of the life and manners, the thoughts and passions, of this people. And if we care to study them with a broad-minded sympathy, we cannot fail to observe that even behind the rudest and shaggiest exterior there may exist a warm heart and a strong will, an eye for the beautiful in nature and in man, and an ear for melody of sound. Deny these songs the name of poetry, if you will, you cannot ignore the presence in them of some of the qualities that we admire in all good poetry. Melting passion, burning indignation, generous sympathy, ardour of imagination,—all are here,—and all expressed in rhythmical language with a remarkable vividness, directness and force. And, it is to be hoped, the most fastidious critic will allow that even the heart of the semi-barbarous Munda has caught some stray ‘melodies of the everlasting chime’, and that the Mundas too, to use the words of John Keble,

Carry music in their heart,
Through dusty lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily toil with busy feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.

Sarat Chandra Ray

THE INDIAN BEGGAR

" I am monarch of all I survey
My right there is none to dispute."

A more apposite motto than the one at the head of this article, it is difficult for me to choose for capping a piece which purports to introduce to the reader that most interesting, even picturesque, character, the Indian Beggar. He is, perhaps, far and away, the lordliest figure among his compeers of the earth. Poor-houses and parish work-shops effectively serve the purposes of a Jail to the poor of the West, while their eastern companion roams over vast stretches of country, over desert spaces untrodden by man, in unrestrained ease and liberty. Trudging long distances with a dust-covered seamy satchel, dangling from his left shoulder and with a long stick in his right hand, to support him in his weary wanderings, he carols all his way as a blithe bird in a leafy covert. Like smiling flowers when bathed in the dew of the early dawn, his heart seems filled with glee unspeakable and sometimes even with joyous rapture bordering on ecstacy. His only companion in all his wanderings is that living anatomy of a dog, whose hunger-bitten appearance is a proof positive equally of his master's poverty and of its own faithfulness ; for if it could muster up courage to desert its master and join the ranks of the other pariah dogs in a village, it might easily have put in some flesh between its bones and skin. But desertion is the last thing this faithful canine friend would dream of. He, too, seems to partake of his master's luxury of poverty. To the pet of fortune, to the lord of a thousand acres, heaven-sent sleep pays no visit, wooed though it is with the softest cushions and balm-laden fans ; but on this poor son of the street who pillows his head on the hardest of stones on a wind-swept plain during nights, that sovereign antidote of nature, sleep, pours unsolicited all her phials of peace and refreshing rest in unstinted profusion. Happy the soul that falls into the dreamless sleep, where life is a blank and nature a nullity, only in order to wake up next morning to the hard obtruding realities of conscious existence.

The Indian beggar is of many sorts and complexions As his *habitat* extends from the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, comprising an immense variety of diversified scenery with a population also diversified to the extreme, he falls under well-marked natural classes which require a Linnaeus or a Darwin to arrange and to depict in the order of their genetic relationship. In this paper, however, I shall attempt the less ambitious, and certainly

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the easier, task of describing only some of the more prominent types of the species.

First and foremost comes that pathetic crew designed by Nature herself in her inscrutable ways to wait for ever in the outer-court of servile dependence. This *natural* order of beggars comprises the blind, the lame, the decrepit and the sickly. Capacity to work and earn their bread—a primal necessity with mortal man—has been withheld from this miserable crew, and hence they have been thrown on the alms of others for keeping their body and soul together. As if to fill the cup of their misery to the brim, seldom do these children of Lazarus, having some physical stigma or any clear index of some filthy pestilential disease, possess even a modest patrimony to fall back upon in times of need ; and in those few cases they would quickly ease them of their burden. In the vast majority of cases, on the other hand, unkind nature cuts these miserbables adrift in the ocean of chance, even from the period of their early childhood. Many are the rolls and buffettings of the angry sea of life which this ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-provided crew are called upon to weather. Picking up a livelihood is not, after all, an “easy joke” as the slang goes ; it is one of the most difficult things to accomplish in this world even for the sturdy and stalwart children of men, on account of the hard, merciless competition one has to meet with from every quarter. How are these natural decrepits to fare then ? Where can they find mercy and where their haven of rest and quiet enjoyment ? Of all professions open to man, one would suppose beggary to be most exempt from the evils of competition and that the decrepits might quiteley enter into the uninterrupted enjoyment of this poor-man’s estate. Whatever approaches to the heart of a brother mortal be blocked by thronging crowds, certainly this means of success should remain clear for the poor to pass. But alas ! the fateful shadow of the *Shunning Beggar* falls across his path. He is of a different order. Nature originally meant him for a *man* ; he has turned out a *beggar*. He has put his emphatic negative on the ordinance of nature. Where nature has given him a sound body, he makes it appear an unsound one—all for the purpose of qualifying himself to get a pass in the examination of Poverty, which he honestly prefers to all other existing diplomas. He shams lameness, blindness, deafness, dumbness and diseases *et hoc genus omne*. He has preparations, the most magical, to produce successful feints of loathsome diseases. In the morning his body will be covered from top to toe with blisters ; at noon his thigh will have a

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gash with clotted blood clinging to the sides of the wound ; and in the evening his limbs will exhibit the most frightful of contortions as if some terrible disease had played its pranks with them ! When nature throws her dark disguise over the face of the earth, then it is that these beings also throw away theirs and appear in their natural colours. Although they could have led fairly contented and happy lives had they chosen to walk in the straight path of duty, they have deviated into the by-ways of dissimulation and have, like the dirty animal wallowing in the mire, covered themselves with the vestments and symbols of misery. To parody an oft-quoted line of Shakespeare : " Some are born sickly, some attain sickliness, and some have sickliness thrust upon them " ! Here are the persons who attain sickliness by their unenviable efforts !

Next I may take up the *Professional Beggars*, the vast non-descript corporations of men, women and children existing from time immemorial in this ancient land. To deprive you of your hard-earned cash is the only purpose of their existence. " West is west and east is east and never the twain can meet " sang Kipling, probably for the following reason, that in the west while corporations are formed for " joint-work," here we have such assemblages, hereditary bodies, existing from time out of mind for the express purpose of doing " no-work."

The latter system, in the long run, pays as well as the former ; for in both the profits are divided equally among its members. But the Eastern poet may very well say : " Verily, Verily, I say unto you, never the twain can meet ; for the east stands on a far higher level than the west. Our corporations divide only profits ; they have not to face the contingency of dividing losses as in the west." For has not the Vedantin truly said, " a handful of rice will satisfy my mouth ; a tiny strip of cloth will cover my nakedness ; the outer-verandahs of houses will serve as my bed-chamber." The *Pundaram* with a few cubits of ochre-coloured cloth round his loins and a garland of *rudraksha* beads round his neck and sometimes round his arms, the pompous-looking *Chittoosi*, with his flowing robes and ornamented head-gear, holding in his hand a huge bell aptly adapted for creating a hell of noise in a sequestered, somnolent village, and for exacting more than an ordinary dole of paddy or rice generally meted out to his less pompous brethren, the terrific *Kalluli* with his gruntings and awe-inspiring gesticulations, brandishing a huge stick in his hand, all come under this class. The general peculiarity which marks off this miscellaneous group from others is that what is begged by the

other classes is claimed as a matter of right by this. They do not beg ; they always claim as matter of right. They think they have a prior title to your belongings than even your first-born. They pose as the adoptive children of human society and put forward a sort of natural claim to a share of your earnings. Had it not been for this class, one would, indeed, have missed much of the dignified authority which now goes along with begging. The collector of public revenues cannot demand payment with higher authority, the creditor cannot show greater importunity with his cunning debtor, than these professional beggars. Riches lose more than half their value, and nearly all their glamour, where this impecunious brotherhood is concerned, which seems to revel in the very idea of poverty and thank their natal stars for their happy lot. Paint in the most glowing colours the blessings of work, expatiate eloquently and at length on the dignity of labour, decry as much as you can the thousand evils which beggary brings on in its train, yet these lazzaroni wince not under your whip or feel anyway elated at the prospect of another calling. They have come to look upon "begging" as a rich inheritance, and the first step towards admission into the 'promised land,' which to them is a land flowing with milk and honey.

Closely connected with these come the *Religious Beggars*. These, in one shape or other, have brought down religion from its heavenly purpose to serve their material wants. Unlike the secular beggars to be described hereafter, these do not rely on their own skill or accomplishment, but utilize spiritual machinery to gain their end. The division of religious beggars is a large one and contains many interesting varieties. The *Devotional Beggar*, if to mention him is no profanation to the sanctimonious reader, forms the first variety and is on the whole a quiet, unobtrusive, harmless individual and takes no notice of those of us who are eddying in the malestrom of worldly troubles. He recites some devotional pieces or sings some stray catches from the ancient masters of harmony and melts your heart. He does not grate your ears with the prosaic request like anything as "give me rice" or "give me money ;" yet he gets plenty of both to serve his needs. Here too appears the inevitable shamming beggar. He puts on the holy garb of *Sanyasi*, takes good care to smear his body with holy ashes and carries on his person more than the ordinary load of *Rudrakshas*. Assuming the outward decorations of piety, he has made it a rule not to open his mouth without some saying or sententious maxim from a sacred author of note. He generally accosts you with such ejaculations as " By the Grace of God ! what

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is your name?" or "By the grace of God, who has reviled you?" and consequently these expressions have passed for only quaint mannerisms. The make-believe *Sanyasin* sometimes turns his solemn demure face skywards, and impresses on the bye-stander the littleness of man,—placed amidst the awful immensities and eternities above, beneath, and around. But all this time he has also an eye on your purse. The moral of his teaching is plain enough. When man himself is little and is of no consequence, his purse must be more so. "Human life is a mirage ; money is therefore so much trash ; hence throw away as much of your money as you can into my hands" is the sum and substance of the teaching of the religious beggars.

It must be admitted that there are a few who are altruistically inclined and make large collections for building *Chattrams* or rest-houses, for constructing and repairing temples and shrines, for founding wayside charities and for other purposes of like public utility. These *altruistic beggars*—despite the evident oxymoron of phrase—form a second variety. The sham-altruists also have swarmed in large numbers to make the work of the genuine ones irksome and precarious. To one honest soul which discharges its self-imposed functions irreproachably, there are ten who are anything but honest. The wolf of their selfish nature assumes the sheep's covering of pure altruism. While vehemently pleading the cause of a dilapidated temple, he, in fact, pleads for his own ruined homestead ; in pressing the claims of the starving millions, he has in mind his hungry brood of children. Generally one makes a gift of what he has and not of what others have ; in the case of these altruistic beggars, both genuine and sham, they undoubtedly follow an opposite principle of action. Carefully stowing away what they possess in some inaccessible recess of their dwelling, they beg with the apparent purpose of making a free gift of the collections they make to some charitable endowment. After a goodly sum has been collected, many of them act on the wholesome and time-honoured principle of "charity begins at home." Rarely do they allow it to begin anywhere else.

The *Pilgrim Beggar* is another important group. He is always bound for some holy shrine or place of pilgrimage but, in the inscrutable ways of Providence, finds it, in nine cases out of ten, impossible to proceed for absolute want of funds to his ultimate destination. From the direction and mode of his pregrinations one might infer that he did not want to reach the goal at all. He skilfully plays upon the religious susceptibilities of the farmer and the

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artisan and the unsophisticated village rustic and solemnly assures the latter that any amount given to him would be taken without fail to the virgin goddess at Cape Comorin, or to the God Koilappan of Vaikam, or to Soobramonya of Trichen-door, or to the God or Tripati or even to Vissvesar of Kashi. He would further give them a sly hint that other modes of transmission such as the Post and the Telegraph, smaking of un-Hindu ways, would not answer the purpose so well. The only thing faulty about this class is that they never get to the end of their journey even when they get to the end of their lives. They are eternal pilgrims, so to say, and live upon pilgrimage as their chosen profession.

An allied variety is the *Kavadi Beggar*. By *Kavadi* our readers must understand a wooden frame, with a bent piece of wood arching it and adorned with gay pea-cock plumage and flowers and holding two little cup-like vessels containing either milk, sugar, rice, or rose-water, or even fish to be offered to the god or goddess of a favorite shrine. These Kavadies are borne on the shoulders and are by some made to dance in fantastic circles round the neck and on the back of their careers to the accompaniment of drum-beating and conch-blowing. Originally intended as a means of offering gifts to a distant shrine, these kavadies have now become a begging lot. No religious institution is safe from secular profanation where such a method pays.

More interesting than these is the *Relic Beggar* who has a keen eye for business. He knows what will please whom, and fore-arms himself accordingly before approaching a person with such relics as he will die to possess. Nothing is too insignificant to escape his notice ; every blessed thing or part of a thing is treasured up by him for future use. He brings *Saligramam* gathered from the basin of the sacred Ganges ; he brings water from the holy river of Nermuda (the modern Nerbuda). He has a supply of black threads brought from distant Kasi and provides himself with a plentiful store of red earth from Srirangam. He displays a row of the images of the deities who preside over the prominent shrines in Bharatavarsha, and also an immense collection of cheap silver bangles known as *Tripati Kappu*. He excites your fear by sometimes carrying in a wooden chest live cobras, reputed to come from the holy shrine of Vaikom and sacred to the presiding deity. Where other things have not the power to make you part with money, these have certainly a very wonderful effect. The very sight of these sacred objects dissolves the heart of pious men and women in devotional

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ecstasies and induces them to loosen their purse-strings in a moment and reward the relic-bearer for his troubles.

Another variety is the *Martyr Beggar*. Poor man ! He suffers miseries for preventing them ! He wants to enjoy comfort by earning a living ; but his method to secure a living is not only to deny all physical comforts but to inflict positive pains or sufferings ! He wears an iron frame round his neck and sits up all day and night without ever laying himself flat on the ground. He pierces his cheeks with a needle and passes a metallic wire through the bores so as to form a ring, the ends of the wire being securely clasped together. The mouth being locked up in this unique fashion, he cannot carry on conversation or even utter an intelligible word. Some of these walk on sandals with sharp-pointed spikes in them to act as constant pricks on the sole of their feet ; others pierce their skins with copper needles. The rooted conviction in the mind of one and all of these misguided martyrs is that the more excruciating the bodily suffering is, the larger will be the divine favour secured. Every pain inflicted on the despicable body has its answering reward from an all-merciful Heaven ; and conversely every material pleasure is the surest means of attracting divine wrath and displeasure. Readers may suppose that the *shamming beggar* will find his vocation gone in this crowd of martyrs. His nature, they would think, would not allow him to join the ranks of the self-suffering crew. But little do they know the infinite capacity of the shammer, his ready wit and intelligence, the suppleness and versatility of his character to suit any circumstance and his wonderful resources to rise to any occasion. He only puts on these torture-symbols but so contrives things as not to feel any torture himself. The simple spectator may commiserate with him for the apparent inflictions ; but he himself is only laughing, in his hearts of hearts, at the simplicity of the on-looker. All that he seeks is to excite pity, sympathy, fear or even disgust in order to get a copper or silver bit from him.

Another variety is the *Devil-Dancing Beggar*. He is indeed a diverting character. Not only is he possessed with a spirit more than human and less than divine but is also possessed with a idea of sharing your purse with you. He sometimes paints his face with a red-paste (a blood-red preparation of turmeric and oil) to look hideous to the sight of innocent folks and strike terror into their simple hearts ; sometimes carries a pan of burning fire on the crown of his head or in the palm of his hand ; sometimes lashes himself with a whip, a flaxen tong or an iron chain, to

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prove to the village world that the spirit has nothing to fear from such earthly torments. But however unearthly he wants to exhibit himself to be, the 'love of lucre,' an altogether earthly sentiment, has completely possessed him. All his superhuman characteristics, in the last resort, have this base human foundation. The dancer will bless you with paddy-lands and gardens, silver and gold jewels, with bodily health and mental peace, with domestic felicity and dutiful offspring ; and he will also impress you with the notion that the spirit which has the custody of caverns of wealth and distributes it profusely among its numerous devotees should hunger after some trashy copper pice from those who consult it, as *kanikai* or free-will offering. True the spirit can do without your money but the dancer cannot. And that of course settles the question as to what you should do with your money.

M. N. Sivaramam

(To be Continued)

LEGISLATURE AND LEGISLATION IN INDIA

The present year marks an important epoch in the history of the Indian Legislature. For the first time a new principle which was hitherto only partially recognised is being openly avowed and acted upon. And, however nugatory some of the wholesome provisions of Lord Morley's Despatch may have been made by the regulations under the new Councils Act, the principle has been once and for all time been recognised that in the legislation of India, the people of India, no matter how they are represented, are to have a potent voice. It is in the recognition of this principle, which was not explicitly recognised even in 1892, that the principal importance of the reform scheme of to-day lies. This year then marks the close of the epoch when the function of the Indian members of the legislature has been in theory merely one of keeping the Government informed of the thoughts and feelings of the people for the betterment and the benefit of the Indian administration, and the commencement of one in which representatives are to sit in the Councils in recognition of their right to have a voice in the moulding of the legislation of India. The regulations may have made the method of representation one wholly unfitted to the proper presentation of the real views of the people in their real and true perspective ; they may also have been so framed as to make the effectual exercise of the power of people's representatives well nigh

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impossible. But the principle is there, and it may yet be that it will be carried to its logical consequences ; and then the present year will be marked as the time at which the germs of a new legislature were introduced into the country.

In view of this change, it is well worth while to take a resume of the origin and history of the British Indian Legislatures. In such a resume it will be convenient to examine first the sources of the legislative authority of the Indian Councils and then to trace its history through three well-marked stages. The first period of their history covers the time from the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, which for the first time defined the legislative authority of the E.I. Co., to the Government of India Act of 1861 which constituted the Legislative Councils on the existing basis. The second period brings us down to 1892 when Lord Cross's India Councils Act was passed and when, among other changes, the principle of election was for the first time recognised. The third period ends with the present year. It will be further convenient to deal with this history under three different heads, viz. with reference to the constitution of the councils, their powers and the legislation.

THE SOURCES OF LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

The germs of the legislative authority of the East India Company are to be found in Queen Elizabeth's Charter granted in 1601 which in incorporating the Company, gave them the authority "to make, ordain and constitute such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, as to them or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient for the good Government of the said company and of all factors, masters, mariners or other officers employed or to be employed in any of their voyages and for the better advancement and continuance of their trade and traffic." This was followed by the power to amend or revoke such laws and to impose pains and penalties.* "These powers of making laws and ordinances," says Ilbert, "did not differ in their general provisions from, and were evidently modelled on, the powers of making by-laws commonly exercised by ordinary municipal and commercial corporations."† Yet they are interesting, as out of these, by a gradual growth, was developed the legislative authority of the East India Company as the Company made territorial acquisitions in India. The first charter which gives to the companies any sort of territorial juris-

* See Cowell's *Tagore Law Lectures*, 4th Ed., p. 9 et seq.

† Ilbert, *Government of India*, p. 9 (2nd Edition).

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diction was that of William III in 1698 by which the *government* of all the forts, factories and plantations of the Company were vested in the company, the sovereign powers of the Crown being reserved but no legislative powers were evidently given. Such powers were however given by George I's Charter of 1726 which also created the Mayor's Courts and by which the company were authorised "to make, constitute and ordain by-laws, rules and ordinances for the good government and regulation of several corporations hereby created and of the inhabitants of the several towns, places and factories aforesaid respectively," provided that such laws were reasonable and not contrary to the laws of England. Here then we find the first trace of a real legislative power incident to the acquisition and holding of territories. They were for the first time clearly and definitely set forth under the Regulating Act of 1773 to which the entire legislative authority of the Government of India of to-day may be traced.

But in the meantime the Company had acquired the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. This did not immediately cause any great revolution, for, although under the grant of the Dewani the Company had obtained jurisdiction over the revenues of the entire province, the sovereignty still formally rested with the Nawab and the collection of land revenue was conducted by officers of the Nawab with head-quarters at Murshidabad. Warren Hastings on his appointment as Governor of Bengal, however, took the collection of the revenues directly into the hands of the Company and transferred the head-quarters of the administration from Murshidabad to Calcutta. This was followed immediately by the issuing of several instructions for the conduct of administration which were wholly in excess of the legislative powers granted to the Company by the Charters of 1726 and 1753. These were sought to be defended on the ground that in issuing them the Company were acting as agents of the Emperor of Delhi. This claim of the Company to act in excess of the powers conferred by the Crown or the Parliament, on the ground of the Dewani grant of the Moghul Emperor, was for a long time stoutly upheld and it is amusing to find the old claim urged even so late as last year by the *Pioneer* on behalf of the Government of India. Strictly speaking there never was any justification for this claim, for the grant of the Dewani did not necessarily involve any powers to legislate. The firman of Shah Alum too does not give the Company any powers to legislate in any manner. It gave the Company power to raise and maintain an army, if necessary, but is totally silent about issuing proclamations.

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or framing rules. Nor is it a general grant of any other powers of sovereignty, and it has never been shown that the Dewani necessarily involved legislative powers.

The acquisition of new powers and territories by the Company thus gave rise to intricate questions of constitutional law* and the Company's claim to legislate as the representative of the Moghul Emperor was frequently put forward to meet the clamour in England against British subjects obtaining territorial sovereignty as such subjects and the outcry against the government by the Company. The Regulating Act of 1773 was far from setting the matter at rest. But although that Act failed to define the exact limits of the power of the Crown, yet, by vesting the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in the Company, it cut the ground from under the claim that the Company could have any territorial sovereignty which did not ensure to the benefit of the British Crown and which could rest in the Company except by cession. By this act the Company were authorised to make and issue such rules, ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil government "of the Company's settlement at Fort William and the subordinate factories and places," consistent with reason and subject to registration in the Supreme Court and the veto of the Crown. In 1781 the Governor-General and Council were further empowered "to frame regulations for the provincial Courts and Councils," and under this Act there was no necessity for registration in the Supreme Court.

The Governor-General in Council had issued certain regulations in 1772 and some further regulations were issued in 1780. These had never been registered in the Supreme Court and, if they had been made under the Regulating Act, they were therefore inoperative. But, as we have seen, the Company claimed some rights as representatives of the Moghul Emperor and Parliament was evidently unwilling to risk a combat on that issue. Matters were, however, somehow settled by the Act of 1781 which authorised the Governor-General in Council to make laws and regulations for the provinces. It was under this Act that most of the Regulations of the Bengal Code were framed, and, by re-enacting the old regulations under this new power, the Company virtually gave up their right to legislate independently of any powers given by the British Legislature. But if any vestiges of such power remained, they were wholly swept away by the Act of 1813† which continued to the East India Company the possession of the territorial acquisitions in India and the

* 55 Geo. III, c. 155.

† See on this subject Lecky's *History of England in the 18th Century*.

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revenues thereof "without prejudice to the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in and over the same." So the vexed constitutional question of years past was finally settled and it was made plain that all the powers of the Company to retain and govern British India, including that of legislation, were derived by the cession of a part of the undoubted sovereignty to the British Crown. The Statutes of Parliament therefore are the only sources from which the legislative authority of the Indian Government are derived, and so far as this authority is concerned, the law is finally laid down by the Government of India Act of 1861 which constituted the Councils which have been terminated by the legislation of this year. So far as the powers of legislation are concerned, however, it is to be noted that the Indian Councils Act of 1909 does not differ from its predecessor of 1861.

Naren C. Sen-Gupta

(To be continued)

A VISION

She remaineth in darkness enshrouded
She knoweth no longer the light,
For the skies of her day are o'er clouded
And starless the skies of her night.
Her sons ever fitfully hail her
They dower with devotion her name,
Then at war with each other they fail her
And silent she sitteth in shame.

They tell her of Truth but she findeth
Truth nowhere since none can discern
(For the greed of the world their eyes blindeth)
Where Truth's flame eternal doth burn.
And brother deserteth his brother
None cares for the poor or his woes
One leader distrusteth the other
And the rich to each other are foes.

And satiate with honours and pleasure
Bought titles, new glittering toys,
Some squander the wealth and the leisure
Of their lives in ephemeral joys.

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Some think not, some dream and some cower,
Some fawn and some flatter for gain,
Alas ! for they know not their power
And honour is sought for in vain.

Yet her glory and grace doth not vanish
Though she sitteth surrounded by chains
And Time hath no power to banish
The soul that within her remains.
And memories of all her past glories
Still echo and ring in her ears
And still in the pause of old stories
A whisper of comfort she hears.

But sorrow though grievous must dwindle,
And joy shall return with the light,
And Time hath the power to rekindle
The flame that died out in the night.
How long shall her sorrows continue ?
Hark ! she seemeth to murmur in song :
"My sons, let faith rise up within you
Not long shall I sorrow—not long ! "

M. C. B.

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

THE PUNJAB

A chronicler of the monthly progress of the province of the Punjab must necessarily begin his narrative for Punjab Hindu Conference : its Genesis the current month with the recording of the proceeding of the first session of the Punjab Hindu Conference, which indeed has been the chief event for the last month. It was verily a novel gathering—this Punjab Hindu Conference. The Hindu community of the Punjab has been for some time past passing through days of anxiety and despondency. In the words of the great English poet, the Hindus in the Punjab have 'fallen on evil days and on evil tongues, with darkness and danger compassed round.' The situation has been, no doubt very trying and serious, and full of perplexities. Fate has demanded a heavy price for the public spirit and the altruistic work of the Hindus of the province. Their services for the public weal have not only earned them no thanks from those who benefited by their labour, but brought upon them positive odium from the hands of the powers that be. The Hindus of the province got themselves branded as disloyal and seditious in return for their unselfish work for the people. Their patriotic labours have indeed been most ill-requited. On the other hand, the fantastic and aggressive claims of the Muslim League have been apparently sweeping the board and ruling the roost. Even the reform measures, which are intended by its authors to usher in a new era of reform and progress, have been coupled with special concessions to the Mahomedans even in this province, where they are in overwhelming majority. And while things are shaping themselves adversely to the Hindus of this province, the old grievances in the matter of the Punjab Land Alienation Act and the Pre-emption Act and in regard to appointments to public services continue to press as heavily as hitherto against the Hindus. The minds of not a few Hindus in the provinces are stricken with despondency at this state of things, and the call was made on the leaders of the Punjab Hindu Sabha to tackle this serious question and formulate the necessary line of action. It was in such circumstances that the idea of the Punjab Hindu Conference originated. It would be quite wrong to say that the Conference originated in

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imitation of the self-seeking and aggressive ways of the Muslim League. Self-interest is no doubt a very powerful solvent, but that has not been the *raison de etre* of the Hindu Conference. Its *sous et origo* lies deeper than mere self-seeking ; it lies in the instincts of self-preservation inherent in communities as well as individuals. According to the prospectus of the Hindu Conference, the social and religious welfare of the community was to be the basis of its propaganda with so much of politics as was consistent with the natural development of a healthy and progressive social organism. The Conference only aimed at providing a common platform for the religious instructor, the social reformer, the philanthropic worker and the political patriot of all the different elements of the Hindu race in the province, and it proposed to tackle quite a wide variety of subjects e.g., from the bearing of the Reform scheme on the Hindus of the province to the causes of their physical degeneration—from the celebration of national festivals to remedying the effects of the Land Alienation Act. In short, the programme of the Conference was comprehensive enough and comprised in its folds questions for the development of national literature, sciences and arts, as well as other problems connected with the social and political well-being of the community. The Conference was looked up by not a few of its adherents as a source of noble inspiration and as a beacon of hope. How far did it succeed in its ambitious project,—that is a question which readers of the *Indian World* may be anxious to know.

It must be admitted that in one respect, however, the Hindu Conference did very valuable work. It was an edifying sight to see the Hindus of the province assembled together upon a common platform and under a common roof for the purpose of conferring and deliberating upon questions affecting the well-being of the Hindus of the whole province. The constitution of the Conference was purposely made as elastic as possible, and it was wisely done, for the Conference did not deal with controversial or high politics. Consequently, there were no cast-iron rules or hide-bound regulations limiting its *personnel* or deterring any Hindu, to whatever sect or denomination he may belong, from joining it ; nor was there any necessity for such a course. And as a gathering of the Hindu brotherhood, the Conference was indeed a success. It was a large and representative assembly. There were among the members of the Reception Committee of the Conference, among the delegates, speakers and visitors, Hindus of all shades of opinion and of all varieties of religious views. There were orthodox

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Pundits of the strict sanatanist school with their old-world ways and views, there were leading Arya Samajists both of the College and the Gurukul sections, there were Sikhs of the Singh Sabha, there were members of the Brahmo Samaj and also of the newly started cult, the Deva Samaj. The Conference in its *personnel* represented and typified Hindu solidarity in the province. This was a gratifying result. Even more gratifying was the fact that the tune of the Conference, in spite of the display of some curious mottoes, did not jar with the unifying note sounded by the Indian National Congress. The Conference in no way ran counter to the Congress propaganda. Several leading members of the Congress Reception Committee actively participated in the proceedings of the Conference. They looked upon the Conference as a separate and supplementary movement, in no way clashing with our great National organisation. Dissensions and disruption have been so much in the atmosphere of the province that it was an edifying sight to see Hindus in the province mustering strong and united on one occasion. And although it would be too much to say that perfect unanimity and harmony prevailed, the Conference did not, as even its critics must admit, altogether fail in this direction.

Several of the speeches made at the Conference were of a high quality and would compare not unfavourably with Lala Lal Chand's Address the speeches made at the conferences of any other

province. The speech of Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, was a solemn call, a rallying summons, to the Hindus to put their houses in order and keep themselves abreast of, and equipped for, the stern necessities of the time. Strenuousness was the note sounded by the ex-judge in his opening address, and he pointed out in emphatic and serious language the intensity of the struggle for existence and the need for vigilant wakefulness. The true need of the Hindu community, he said, is to consolidate the community in one common bond of union and to safeguard its special and peculiar interests. "The times we live in," said Lala Lal Chand, "are characteristically of communal struggle, and survival of the fittest is the all-predominant and universal law which rules the issue certainly in animate life, if not even in inanimate nature." Quoting from Manu, he showed that the issue has always survived in favour of the fittest, be it a case of war or of peaceful civilisation, be it a case of economic, moral or physical struggle. As nature abhors vacuum, so it is repugnant and repulsive to the continuance of comparatively weak existences. This is natural law, and moral laws, said Lala

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Lal Chand, are at best very weak influences when opposed to, and confronted with, self-interest. The struggle must therefore go on in spite of moral laws, checked no doubt, in the plane of peaceful civilisation, by the influence of moral laws in rendering the issue less brutal and more human but still subject to the all-pervading and predominant influence of self-preservation and self-interest. Well may Rai Bahadur Lal Chand exclaim with the well-known poet :

" For nature is one with rapine—a harm no preacher can heal,
The Mayfly is torn by the swallow, the sparrow spear'd by the
spike,
And the little wood where I sit is a small world of plunder
and prey."

Well, what then should be done ? Lala Lal Chand said that the *bij-mantrum* here, as in religion, is to evolve self-consciousness. In order to exist at all and exist in the midst of a struggle where the universal law is encroachment and survival of the fittest, the very first and most preliminary need is to realise individual existence. This realisation is the very breath of communal life, and the Hindu Conference, observed Lala Lal Chand, is but a phase of the renovated consciousness of the Hindu community.

Continuing, the Chairman said, the movement has taken its rise at the most opportune and critical juncture. The process of disintegration is at present in full swing, each community is calling at its loudest to assert separate and independent existence. This is enough to show what sort of cohesion there already existed in the country. The Hindus, said Lala Lal Chand, are willing to work with other community as comrades on grounds of just equality. If, however, there be neither such desire nor willingness, then the Hindu community need not fall on its knees to crave for union. It has enough of work for itself and enough of energy to work out its own destiny for itself. He then referred to the keener evolution of self-consciousness now manifesting among the Hindus of the province, to the pamphlet headed "A Dying Race" by Lt.-Colonel U. N. Mukerji, I. M. S. (retired), and to the resolutions on the decrease of Hindus and the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Hughli, and said that it was "a matter for sincerest gratification that the awakening had likewise taken place in a province, which at this moment doubtless forms the very vanguard of Hindu society in culture and peaceful civilisation." He then pointed out that it was most essential "not to permit the least inroad on the moral sentiment which binds together the community even if the desire

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to form a wider community by co-operation with other communities were to be sacrificed for its sake." The last mentioned view is not certainly the ideal of the Congress, but the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu Conference has, it is well-known in this province, drifted away from the Congress moorings. He has, however, stated his views without fear and faltering, and reversing a saying of Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh at the last Madras Congress we hope to think that "those, who are not with us, were of us and shall be with us." He concluded by saying that self-consciousness, fitness and consolidation were the three crucial factors which moulded the destiny of communities and ought to form the watchword of the Hindu community. It was a striking utterance, this opening address by Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand, but some of the sentiments expressed have not been quite in line with those fostered by the Congress.

The Presidential Address I have dwelt on the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee at some length, not only because it was a striking and original line of thought but also because Lala Lalchand has had no mean share in bringing into maturity the idea of a Hindu Conference. The presidential address of Sir P. C. Chatterji was a most dignified, thoughtful and sober discourse, and full of practical suggestions. After some personal explanations, the President repudiated the idea that the present movement would in any way throw obstacles in the way of national advancement and retard the growth of the sentiment of nationality in the country. In fact, if the Conference were true to its Hindu instincts and training, it could never be aggressive and the promoters of the movement, said Sir Pratulchandra, were bound to proceed on true Hindu lines. He ear-marked the economic and social conditions of the Hindu community as the true sphere of the work of the Hindu Sabha and the Conference, and said that the Conference had rightly decided to let politics alone in its programme.

Sir Pratulchandra's views on the necessity of the eschewing of politics proper by the Conference and its relation to the Conference are fully borne out by the following extract from his address : He said :--

"Truth to say the active pursuit of politics by educated Hindus has brought the community little good but has created a dislike against it in the minds of the bulk of Anglo-Indians. For twenty-five years the National Congress, run mainly by Hindus, has been agitating for the rights of all Indians alike without reference to

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creed, race or locality and scrupulously avoiding discussion of all matters in which the interests of minorities were likely to clash with those of majorities. It got itself branded as disloyal and seditious but continued to work nevertheless until the advent of the present Liberal Ministry which has sanctioned certain reforms. But a Muhammadan political association has suddenly sprung into existence and straightway leaped into fame and claimed the premier position for its co-religionists. Its success is phenomenal and the Anglo-Indian papers in India, with a few notable exceptions, and in England, while bitterly opposing the reforms proposed by the Secretary of State have given effusive support to all its demands, however prejudicial to other communities. The reforms are intended by the Secretary of State to give the people some hand in the management of their affairs, but they have been coupled with the concession of Muhammadan superiority and claim for the creation of separate electorates. The final shape they will take is not yet known and their effect is in the womb of futurity. The National Congress stood up for the principle of Indian Nationality which is nascent and deserves to be encouraged but the separate electorates would apparently give it a deadly blow. Though the Congress has all along acted with a scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities and there is nothing in the past to justify the aspersion, Hindus have been credited in the Anglo-Indian journals with machiavellian designs to appropriate all the power to themselves when the concessions are made. As there is no historical evidence that our Muhammadan brethren have done anything in the past for the British which Hindus have not done, the current opinion that the preference shown for Muhammadan interests by their Anglo-Indian friends is due to a desire to "dish" the Hindus for the political agitations of the National Congress appears to me to receive considerable support. I mention this simply to show how little prospect there is of making a tangible gain by political agitation unless we are able to carry the bulk of Anglo-Indian opinion with us. It is naturally very powerful here and still more so in England where the *Times* and a number of influential newspapers and many distinguished Anglo-Indians are opposed to concessions to the Indian people and Government cannot ignore the force of their opinion. Anglo-India nullified Lord Ripon's reforms in the past and the tangible result of our political agitation in the past has been to gain for the Hindus the hostility of the Anglo-Indian community. Both here and in England Anglo-India is full of anti-Hindu prejudice."

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Among the other notable speeches made at the Conference must be mentioned the speech of Pundit Dindyal on Hindu unity and nationality, the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai on the same subject and of Mr. Shadi Lal, Barrister-at-Law, on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill. Lala Lajpat Rai said that the Hindus, although they might not agree on all points of religious belief, could join on the common ground of spirituality. Hindus are one nation in the sense that they have one culture, history, tradition and interest. He quoted from the *Yajur Veda* to show that the sentiment of nationality was not altogether unknown even in Vedic times. The work of progress and consolidation should proceed from below rather than from top, otherwise, he said, the foundation would be weak. We should begin from the submerged classes the work of consolidation. He said he was a Hindu first and Indian afterwards so long as he was in India, but outside India he was an Indian first and a Hindu next.

Altogether twelve resolutions were passed at the Conference and they were (1) on Hindu unity and nationality, (2) encouragement of Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabee, (3) Recitation of *Kathas* and Shastric legends, (4) celebration of national festivals, (5) Desirability of writing a true history of the Hindus, (6) Protection of cows, (7) Encouragement of the Ayurvedic system of medicine, (8) Punjab Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts, (9) Hindus and Government service (with special reference to the Police Department), (10) Hindus and the Reform Scheme, (11) Raids on the Frontier Hindus and Crimes Regulations and (12) Desirability of holding an All-India Hindu Conference.

It is, however, most regrettable that a big slice has had to be made in the programme of the agenda viz. by the chopping off of the almost entire socio-religious side of the propaganda. The reason assigned for this most curious course was the usual plea of want of time and one or two other resolutions were also dropped to lend colour to the plea, but this did not satisfy the reform party. The *Arya Patrika*, the English organ of the Gurukul Aryas, stoutly maintains that the slice was made out of deference to Pundit Din Dyal and other Sanatanists. Whatever may be the reason, there can be no doubt that on account of this unusual procedure, the Conference became shorn of considerable value and usefulness. Nay, some even apprehend that this unfortunate step may even tell upon the future vitality of the Conference. I have no desire to minimise the difficulties that may have led the organisers of the Conference to adopt such a course, but then there is no getting

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over the fact that the result has been most unfortunate. But this does not preclude one from laying due stress on the undoubtedly good work done by the Conference. The Hindus in this province have so much been the victims of that centrifugal force, which has been the bane of Hindus all over the country for a long time, that it does one's heart positive good to see the operation of a centripetal force even for a short time. It was no mean achievement to gather the scattered units of the Hindu community together. And in this respect, the Punjab Hindu Conference has been very happily likened to the river Indus, where like our five rivers, the two sections of the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Sanatan Sabha and the Singh (Sikh) Sabha find their common meeting-place or confluence. But it may be observed that the confluence at the Indus is not the ultimate goal of our rivers. The Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Nerbuda, the Godavary—all find their common meeting-place in the great sea. Similarly the Hindu, the Muslim, the Parsee, the Indian Christian community, all meet on the common platform of the Indian National Congress. Let us not lose sight of this great and ultimate goal in focussing our vision to a single object.

The Punjab Muslim League also held its own anniversary during the Dussehra holidays as a counterblast to the Hindu Conference, and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Shafi delivered an address on the Muslim League and its policy. As this speech, nor any other speech, nor the resolutions passed, broke any new ground,—they were all of the usual pattern or brand with which the Muslim League has made us so familiar—I do not feel called upon to narrate its proceedings. It may be observed, however, that the local Anglo-Indian daily poured out its heart to bless its *protégé*, the Muslim League, while it preserved a callous attitude about the Hindu Conference.

It is not possible for any one to lift the veil of mystery that shrouds the events relating to the alleged sedition cases at Patiala. More than a month has expired since the arrests, but the State Police has not yet sent up the cases. It is said that the cases will come up for trial next month, but no explanation is given of this long delay, during which all the accused but one are rotting in *hajut*. This is not a state of things calculated to breed public confidence and Dame Rumour is busy with her work. There have been several searches and raids by the Police into a number of Urdu presses of Lahore, and further developments are daily expected.

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The Ananda Marriage Act Shortly before its dispersal from Simla, the Supreme Legislative Council passed a measure called the Anand Marriage Act, which is of some importance to the social life of the Sikhs. According to the statement of Objects and Reasons of the Act, its object is (a) to set at rest, doubts which may be raised as to the validity of the marriage rite of the Sikhs, called Anand, which is an old form of marriage prevailing among them, (b) to save the Sikhs performing marriage in this form from the great difficulties and heavy expenses of litigation in Civil Courts to prove their custom, and (c) to avoid the uncertainty that some of the judicial officers may have as to the validity of this orthodox Sikh custom. The Act is merely a permissive measure. It affects only those who wish to avail themselves of it and disturbs no custom, law, or tradition. It may be further observed, as pointed by the Hon'ble Sunder Singh Majithia, that the Act, though simple in character, indicates an advance on the ordinary Hindu measure. It recognises widow marriage, and prescribes the performance of the same ceremonies as in other marriages in the case of widow marriages and this is an undoubted gain. Further it reduces the marriage expenses and simplifies the whole ceremony. An amendment was passed to the effect that the Act would not validate any marriage between persons related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity as that would, according to the customary law of the Sikhs, render a marriage between them illegal. There was a party in the Sikh community, opposed to the Act, but as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab explained, the Act was only permissive and the Anand ceremony was not obligatory on all Sikhs. Sir Louis Dane, however, suggested the desirability of registration of such marriages, as the Anand ceremony is not necessarily preceded by a formal betrothal, and it is to be trusted that in view of the undoubted advantages of registration in saving unnecessary civil and criminal litigation, the idea will commend itself to the Sikh reform party.

BOMBAY

The Depressed Classes Like our brethren in other parts of India, we in Bombay have also got our untouchables or depressed classes. To the high-class Hindu the touch of a *Mahor* or *mang* is pollution and even his shadow is desecration. The saints and prophets of Maharashtra of old revolted against the injustice and inhumanity of the proud exclusiveness of caste

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which relegated a section of their countrymen to perpetual drudgery of the dirtiest kind with no prospects of a better life in this world or hereafter. In the palmy days of Maratha rule this useful section of society remained outcastes and were subjected to the greatest indignities and injustice. Under British rule they have begun to be recognized as human beings and the conscience of the high-class Hindu, which is very rigid and relentless where questions of caste are concerned, has been touched a bit, at least in the case of the educated few. A Depressed Classes Mission has been formed in Bombay and during the last and this month meetings have been held in various cities, towns and villages for the purpose of showing sympathy for the submerged tenth. In Bombay and Poona, as also in some other places, schools have been started for the education of the children of the outcaste and every help is being given to them to improve their condition. A few public-spirited, liberal-minded gentlemen are devoting their time and energy to this most noble work, and though society in general cannot be expected to open its arms all at once to its outcaste children, a tendency to break the fetters of narrow exclusiveness of caste is clearly discernible.

Bombay has always been very liberal in the matter of the liberty of women. The movement of their education is making fair progress. The *Sevasadana* of Bombay with its branch in Poona is doing useful service in this behalf by the organization of a series of lectures and the starting of classes to teach subjects of practical utility to women. Poona can boast of a unique institution admirably conducted for the amelioration of the lot of these hapless widows whose life is a continuous misery and degradation, and the Anatha Balikashrama of Mr. Karve with its hundred inmates is a monument of liberal self-sacrifice and useful philanthropy. The significance of all this is that the soul of society seems to have been seriously stirred and that an awakening has come which has opened the eyes of people to their defects and their duties.

This awakening is deep and all absorbing. It has spread to politics, industries, education and literature. The power of national literature to mould the destinies of peoples has been recognized all the world over, and we can not neglect our vernacular literature if we wish to make any progress as a nation. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was a sturdy champion of the vernaculars of this Presidency and fought their battles like a valiant knight in the university and outside. Versatile

an, Marathi was constituted as an educational society, the first step towards the formation of a Marathi Sahitya Parishad. But we slept over the matter for a long time after that, before the movement was resumed five years ago. This year's literary conference was held in Baroda under the presidency of Col. Kirtikar and it was a decided success. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar showed his active sympathy in the cause of the Parishad and this contributed not a little to its success. The conference was attended by many prominent Marathi men of letters and discussed a number of important topics, chief among them being the more extended introduction of Marathi in the university curriculum, the influence of vernacular newspapers on the masses, the preservation of old documents, relics and remains of historical importance. About the same time Gujarati lovers of their own mother tongue met at Rajkot under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai for a similar purpose, and their conference was also a success. Marathi has a noble literature consecrated by the writings of great poets and saints, and an amount of work has to be done in connection therewith. Vernacular newspapers are becoming a great power in our parts, a power that may be used for good or evil, and it is the duty of the educated classes to see that this power is not wasted or abused. The tone of the vernacular newspapers in our parts, does not now-a-days often appear to be what it ought to be and though this is rather a delicate matter, the question should not have been given a wide birth by the literary conference. Respectable journalism ought not to degenerate into abuse and sophistry, and journalists ought to appreciate their responsibilities. Men will always differ and split up into parties, but that is no reason why journalists should descend to Billingegatti and personal abuse.

Congress Prospects Speaking of parties, I must say something about Congress politics. Unlike Bengal, where the Moderates and the Extremists have much in common and can stand on the same platform on certain questions, we have on our side two water-tight compartments, like the two eyes on the face which never meet. Perhaps the Curzonian *regime*, of which the Partition was the bitterest fruit, has linked the people of Bengal together by common chains of brotherhood which no differences in other matters, however acute they may be, have the power to rend asunder. Whatever the causes, we of Bombay seem to have split up into two parties, which nothing will apparently bring together for a common end, at least for a long time to come. It would be useless to apportion the blame wherever it may be due. Party feeling

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has been there among us for the last many years, but it has been accentuated a great deal by the happenings of the last few years. The prospects of a United Congress, so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, are, therefore, nil. The cry of a united Congress, raised in Bengal, has been caught up here by those who, for the nonce, find themselves out of the pale of that body, and is having echoed and re-echoed by them to no purpose. Bombay moderates declare that none who accept the aims and rules of the Congress, recently framed, are excluded from it, and if any person choose to remain outside, it is their own fault. They would themselves not go back upon the work that has been done during the last two years on any account and thus a position of *non-possumus* has reached. The Lahore Congress promises, therefore, to be just like the Madras sessions, and a compromise under the circumstances seems to be a remote contingency.

In the meantime preparations for the forthcoming elections to the reformed councils are going on apace. The candidates have donned their armours and are preparing for the fray. People who at one time gloried in scoffing at the reforms as mere trash, and laughed at the useless and cringy "my lording" of the members of the councils elected by the people and pleading strongly on behalf of the people, are seen to advise their followers to interest themselves in the coming elections and take care to return their own men. The new councils are not to be boycotted, if not for anything else, at least for preventing men of the other party from going in. For whatever reason it may be, the policy of passive resistance is not to be extended to the reformed councils and there is to be co-operation with Government as far as it may go, in this case. Whether this is a climbing down or not on the part of whilom passive resisters, men of either party and no party at all are in the field and it remains to be seen who of them come out successful. There are indeed a few who still persist in preaching perfect apathy in the matter of the council elections.

A proposal to send out a team of Indian cricketers to England for the purpose of measuring their strength with some of the country elevens there has been in the air for the past few years. Such a tour had been organized and the necessary funds collected some two years ago. All arrangements were almost completed but somehow or other the project fell through. This time the scheme appears to have been taken in hand more seriously. It is being patronised by princes and

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rich folk are taking interest in the scheme. Lord Harris, a former Governor of Bombay and himself a cricketer of some reputation, has promised to do his best to make the proposed tour a success. Indian cricket has advanced a good deal and there are hopes cherished that the Indian team will be able to give a good account of itself in England. Indian cricket may gain some useful experience by a sojourn in the country of its original home, but whether the whole game is worth the candle is a consideration which ought to be left to those who are organizing and financing the scheme. Cricket in Bombay is day by day reaching a higher level and there are many exponents of the game here who would do credit to any country eleven in England. In the names that have so far been suggested as to the *personnel* of the team that is likely to be sent out, none appear from Bengal or the Punjab or Madras. Perhaps we out here are not aware of the claims of cricketers in these provinces as it is very likely that there may be some there that may challenge comparison with some of the probables. Bombay is taking a leading part in the organization of the tour and her choice must prevail. But if there is going to be an all-India team we must know if there are any players in other places who deserve to be included. There is no question of provincial representation, but I fear there may be some cricketers in other provinces worthy of selection but who are not known here. Aligarh will be represented in the team ; there will be Mr. K. M. Blistrin from Patiala and one or two others from outside. But the majority will come from Bombay. Final arrangements have not yet been made as they depend on advices from England.

The new Factory Act Amendment Bill has now been before the public for more than two months and newspapers **The New Factory Bills.** and public bodies have expressed their views regarding it.

The general view seems to be that the bill, if it passes in its present form, will have a detrimental effect upon indigenous textile industries. It is maintained that in framing the bill government have gone beyond the recommendations of the commissions appointed by them for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting on the working of factories. The restriction of the hours of the labour of adult males has no precedent in any country and circumstances do not justify such a restriction in the case of Indian labourers in textile factories. The Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations have addressed representations to Government expressing their disapproval of the clause in question in the bill, though European Associations here and there have

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ported Government. This discussion is being carried on over the heads of the workmen who are immediately concerned. Thousands of Bombay mill-hands recently assembled together, and the question of a workmen's organization was considered. Unlike the labour in England and other advanced nations, labour in this country is unorganized. This circumstance works as a sort of handicap on the working classes when they have to deal with their employers. The natural step for them therefore is to organize for purposes of mutual help and co-operation. Such a movement has been started in Bombay and a special newspaper devotes itself to the promotion of their interests. As far as can be judged from the meeting recently held by them, the mill-hands of Bombay seem to be in favour of the clause in the factory bill restricting the working hours of adult male labourers. If workmen speak for themselves and prefer themselves to be in agreement with the Government, there can be no special pleading on their behalf by outsiders. Government will weigh their views against those of their employers and others in finally deciding the matter. It is to be seen on what side the scale turns.

The cases of defamatory brought by Mr. Gokhale against the Mr. Gokhale *Hindu Punch* of Thana and against certain persons of Poona have accentuated beyond conception the tension of feeling that has existed in this part of the country between the two wings of the Nationalist Party for sometime past. Though Mr. Gokhale comes out victorious and triumphant in both, people are wondering if that was a right step for Mr. Gokhale to take or if it would tend to raise the *moral* of public life or promote the cause of unity.

His Excellency the Viceroy has been touring in this Presidency since a few days and the most memorable incident The Viceroy of this last official tour of Lord Minto has been the unfortunate and dastardly attempt made at Ahmedabad on his life. The whole country rejoices at the fact that the anarchist failed in his intention and the Viceroy escaped the attack. The incident has, no doubt, cast a gloom over all India, though it is not generous to interpret such a fanatical attack as a slur upon the entire people of this country.

The Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Corporation of the *Primus Urbus in Indies* of course approached his Excellency with addresses of welcome, but there was nothing in either of them or in the Viceroy's reply to merit any special notice in these pages.

UNITED BENGAL

I. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

The Malaria Conference has concluded its deliberations, and, as expected, has said many hard and ungracious things about that much-maligned insect—the Mosquito. But so far no attempt has been made to connect causally the Bomb (the unrest generally) and the Squire of the Sting,—as Professor Jones of Manchester University holds Malaria, and Malaria alone, responsible for the downfall of the Greeks and the rise of Socrate philosophy in the Hellenic world. It is rather disappointing that the Conference has failed to make any contribution to humorous literature ; and that the Sandwichmen of Simla had nothing to exhibit but those classical posters—“ Down with the d—d insect ” : “ Quinine, the new Elixir of Life.” The only noteworthy feature about it all was Sir H. Risley’s appeal to the people for co-operation in battling with that scourge of humanity. And we trust our leading men will not fail to respond to this call for help. How we wish the Deportation Act applied, and was confined in its operations to, the Mosquitoes ! However, Eastern Bengal’s official representatives were a choice couple. Mr. Nathan has fully established his claims to being an authority on the subject, and the ideal President of the Select Committee,—having been specially selected (vide the daily press) for the brunt of an acrimonious attack of Malaria in a Punjab cantonment. This leaves hardly any room for doubting that the President, Mr. Nathan, had tickled overmuch (a fatal trick he imbibed from his late master, George Nathaniel) the suffragist sex of the Mosquito creation ; for if we are to believe, among others, Lieutenant-Colonel Hall of Dacca, blood-thirstiness characterises only their woman-kind, and the hegnats don’t believe in that sort of agitation which is manifestly unconstitutional. Besides Mr. Nathan, there was the Sanitary Commissioner—which was all right. But Hon’ble Nawab Ali’s posing as a non-official representative at this particular Conference admits of nought but Pickwickian interpretations.

We have seen how the Eastern Bengal officials are at logger-

heads with the University of Calcutta over the
Legal Studies in E. B. question of the restricted affiliation of the Rajshahi College.

It would prove of interest, therefore, to note an instance in which if the University has erred, it has erred on the side of leniency towards that most obdurate of provincial Governments. It is very well-known how rigorous have been Doctor Mukhopadhyay’s rules of affiliation for the law standard

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the first grade Colleges. The fact that the Dacca College still aims the affiliation in this respect, may point to the moral that what Dr. Mukherjea sought to abolish was not inefficient legal training, but legal training imparted at non-Government Colleges ; or that he winked at the flagrant shortcomings of the Government Law College in the new province. However we have very little to do with that point just now. We may well enquire here if the University Inspector of Law Colleges has had the occasion to visit the law department of the Dacca College ; if so, how often he has been there, and if he had any opportunity of ascertaining the capacity of its permanent lecturers to teach law. We do not know if it is usual for a College to consult the University in the matter of filling up temporary vacancies in the teaching staff. But we want to know who is responsible for the recent appointment of the Public Prosecutor of Dacca as a law professor during the absence on leave of the Government Pleader, Rai Bahadur Iswar Chandra Ghosh. We refuse to believe that the Dacca Bar is so mouldering as not to admit of a better choice. If the successful—unfortunately not always so—and zealous piloting of faked-up criminal cases connotes legal talent, if to be divorced from all but the crudest acquaintance with civil law and the science of law, be an index to the legal savant,—surely then are such appointments but the due of the public prosecutors. We have enough faith in the sense of justice of Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyay not to think that he will not reward genuine merit whenever such is found. And we have no doubt he appreciates this attempt of the E. B. and Assam Government at the successful solution of the vexed question of finding competent law teachers. By the bye, who can explain to us the psychology or the logic of appointing Mr. Archibald as the officiating Principal of the Dacca College ? Is the ex-principalsip of the Aligarh College sufficient qualification for the principalsip of a College established at the headquarters of a Province which has a preponderating Mahomedan population ? Or is it intended as a lesson to Aligarh ?

The last 16th of October celebrations in Eastern Bengal were characterised no less by an eager earnestness and sincerity than by a marvellous fortitude and peacefulness on the part of the people. What with 16th October in E. B. & Assam University ukases and renewed activity of the Police departments, the circumstances under which the day was observed this year were no less trying than in previous years. But as trial and stress have become almost the normal condition of our country, they do

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not interfere with what the people think their rightful duty. It would have been the play of Hamlet with the title-role left out, if at such a time as this the irascible I. C. S. of Chandpur could forego his wild-goose chases which have become an institution almost in that part of the country. As the day dawned on the 16th of October, a respectable pleader and another gentleman of Chandpur were arrested on the authority of a warrant over the signature of Mr. Clayton, the Tipperah Magistrate, under Sec. 108 Cr. P. C. These and two other gentlemen of the Tipperah district were asked to show cause why they should not execute bonds with sureties for their good behaviour for one year. All this because, they were reported against by the D. S. P. as disseminating matter the publication of which is punishable under Sec. 153 I. P. C. (wantonly giving provocation, with intent to cause riot). We think we can read through this political trickery, and the date on which the warrants were served seems to us to be more than a mere coincidence. Yet another enterprising Official—a Bengalee sub-divisional Officer in Eastern Bengal—addressed a “very urgent (confidential)” circular letter to Zemindars within his jurisdiction, asking them “to see that no processions, picketing or closing of shops and demonstrations of any kind are allowed in your *alaka* (jurisdiction) on the 16th of October or on the day just previous or after.” They were further ordered to “report to me at once the arrangements made by you to ensure this object.” We are told this S. D. O. is a “highly educated Bengalee gentleman.” It is a thousand pity he should have thus prostituted his attainments for such an unholy cause. There were other instances of official neurasthania; but we think these two would suffice. They are so sickening!

On a Sunday evening, when the writer of these lines was picking The Fatal Cyclone his way in the dark and in the face of a furious gale, through one of the main streets in a Bengal city, the lofty trees on either side threateningly swaying to and fro, he had little idea of the grim tragedy that was being enacted nearer his home. Still less did he imagine that it would fall to his lot to fill a page of this periodical with the gloomy chronicle of a historic devastation. The cyclone that swept United Bengal on Sunday, the 17th October last, was all the more unfortunate in that it happened just on the eve of the Durga Puja. We have no means of ascertaining with any amount of accuracy the mortality from this recent visitation. Yet the figure will not be inconsiderable, seeing that it was a time when in Bengal people generally come home from towns in large numbers. And

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ough the loss of life reported from among steamer-passengers very few, the number of passengers by boats that have capsized bound to be large. Beyond this there was a great havoc among

unfortunate inhabitants of the places abutting on the Bay of Bengal and the harm done to the crops in some parts of the country is almost incalculable. It is time organised relief-work was undertaken by the people ; for it is on occasions like these that we can hope to touch the chord of love and sympathy in the hearts of our brethren in the distant hamlets of our country. And good may after all come out of the evil of such afflictions. Oh ! how must have many a plaintive wail mingled with and subdued the gladsome strains of the Durga puja. As we laugh and enjoy, the mortal remains of many a man and woman are thrown up by the now remorseful waters : and what lessons in the valley of the shadow of death!—Mother holding child in a secure clasp that defies the severing hand of *Yama*. Parents stranded, by treacherous boat-men, on a bleak and desolate shore feeding their famished children with clay till these drop down dead,—a steamer passes by, but heeds not the piteous appeals of the distressed couple. Side by side with this, place the certainly not over-drawn picture of a Serang and a crew who, regardless of their own fate, stood at their post ; and that of others that rescued many lives from imminent peril at great personal risk. So long as there will be found one such brave heart among her children, India will have no reason to despair.

"And is this—Varro?" This the vaunted scheme of 'Reforms'? Indeed, the logic involved in the division of Indians into "gate keepers," "natural leaders" and "municipal commissioners" smacks too much of the cap-and-bells. The farce—admitted to be so even by the *Statesman*—that had so long been perpetrated in the name of the Legislative Councils, could not claim to be anything more than what it really was. Yet it afforded some opening for men who have the popular cause at their heart and the courage to speak out. But the new order of things that professes to be an improvement upon the old, as being more representative, has succeeded in altogether tabooing our public men of the middle class from that charmed circle. An educated Indian, who has scruples to acknowledge Mahomet as the saviour of mankind, and who does not rejoice in the possession of a portentous receipt for land revenue and those ceaseless cesses,—would, by the bull of this most christian government, have no voice in the administration of his

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country. Unless he has served his novitiate in the purgatory of the District and Municipal boards for a considerable period, he cannot aspire to the higher honour of a padded chair in the Council. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, the number of non-official elected members has been set down at 18, as distinguished from 22 nominated, among whom not more than 17 are to be officials. Of this, even in that preponderatingly Mahomedan province, four seats are ear-marked for the Mussalmans. This figure reads curious when contrasted with Bengal, where the Mussalmans are in a minority and their special seats are four out of 26 seats to be filled by election. Of the rest of the seats in the Dacca Duma, two goes to the Tea Shahibs, one to jute and one more to the Chittagong Port Commissioners. Besides, the Mussalmans would contest—with success too—the five District Board, the three Municipal, and the two land-holders' seats. We do not know what can have got the Ebassam municipalities into the ill grace of the authorities as to have reduced their seats to 3 as opposed to 5 of the District Boards. It is a matter of history that these bodies, as they are at present constituted, cannot pretend to the least representative character in Eastern Bengal. Only the other day we saw a mighty Khan Bahadur, the Chairman of the Dacca Municipality, tremble before the Executive for the dire offence of having let out a public hall—built for public purposes with public subscription—to the organisers of a public meeting. And so long as these local bodies are not purged of the official element that predominates there, and so long as the officials do not leave off their habits of imperious interference, so long, we say, people with a jot of self-respect in them would give these a wide berth.

The Dacoities There has been quite a number of very daring dacoities in this province during the month under notice. Life and property seem to be quite at the mercy of people who have taken to dacoity as a serious calling and who do their depredations in quite an artistic way. Whether these dacoits are really a lot of young men of our middle classes who have been carried away by false and ignoble ideals or are gangs of robbers who find the aping of Babus as a game that throws the Police off the scent is more than we know. But political dacoits or real robbers they ought to be run in at once. And if the Police cannot do it, they are not worth their salt. The Eastern Bengal Government ought to give its most anxious consideration to this phase of anarchy, for upon its effective suppression would depend the prestige of British name in that part of the country, and the peace

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and prosperity of the people at large. Only we wish that in the name of suppression there must be no general repression. Is the Government quite sure that the cry of 'Swadeshi or political dacoity' is not a *ruse* to cover the ineptitude and inefficiency of the C. I. D. and the Police? Anyhow, chaos and panic are unthinkable under British rule.

II. BENGAL

Very often during the Durga Pujah holidays there comes a lull in the affairs of Bengal. All the courts and offices remain closed for a pretty long time and every body who is any body gets on his wings. But even during this festive season, our anarchist friends have not been sitting quite idle this year and have been

The Dacoities making good use of their time. The Khulna and Haludbari dacoities are a standing disgrace upon both the anarchists and the Police. The mischievous activity shown by the Bengal dacoits, whoever they may be, ought to be suppressed anyhow if people are to live in the moffussil at all; and if the existing Police staff in these provinces lack the energy or the detective ability to track them to their infernal dens, they ought to be supplanted by a more efficient and clever body. When, indeed, shall we hear the last of these dacoities?

**The Bengal Re-
gulations** The Regulations under the new Councils Act, so far as they concern and affect Bengal, have been received with profound disappointment both by the educated Hindu and Moslem community. They are so retrograde and absurd! And yet we are told they are part and parcel of Lord Morley's Reform Scheme. Reform indeed!—to disenfranchise the entire educated community and to turn a non-official majority into a pretentious sham. The only classes that seem to have been satisfied with the new Regulations are the great territorial landlords and the Anglo-Indian mercantile community—just the people who not only did nothing to secure the enlargement of the Councils but did everything in their power to thwart the leaders of the people from pressing for a reform of the legislative machinery. Strange are the ironies of Fate!

The Calcutta Municipality and the University of Calcutta have not been conceded a greater share in the representation than was conferred upon them by the time-worn Regulations of 1892. The District Boards and the Municipalities have, of course, received fair attention but their choice of representatives has been severely

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restricted to only members of their bodies—a most retrograde and exclusive clause. The landlords' roll has been limited to less than a hundred and fifty with a view to shut out the more educated and independent of them. As regards the Mahometans, the position is not more satisfactory, for the Government makes a most invidious distinction between its pensioners and title-holders (down to the recipients of a silver Kaiser-i-Hind medal) and the independent section of that community. In the case of the members of this section, the Regulations have fixed a very high standard of qualifications both for voters and candidates for election, while a monthly pay of Rs. 25 has been fixed as a sufficient qualification for Mahometan teachers in Government schools. If this is not indirect officialisation of the whole scheme, it is difficult to think what is.

The next most notable event in Bengal is the judgment delivered by the Chief Justice and Justice Carnduff on ^{The Alipore Bomb Case Appeal} the Alipore Bomb Case appeal. It is a relief to see the practical close, though the end is not yet, of this protracted and painful State Trial—perhaps the most important political trial that has taken place in India since her transfer from the East India Company to the Crown. Of the 39 accused originally brought to trial, one, the approver Narendranath Gossain, was assassinated in the Alipore Prison on the eve of the case being taken up by Mr. Beachcroft at the Alipore Sessions. Two of them, Kanailal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose, paid with their lives the penalty for assassinating Narendranath Gossain. Of the remaining 36 accused, Mr. Beachcroft acquitted 17 including Mr. Aravinda Ghose and convicted 19; two to death and 17 to several terms of imprisonment and transportation. These 19 preferred an appeal before the High Court of Calcutta which was heard by the Chief Justice and Justice Carnduff for nearly a period of two months. These Judges have delivered separate judgments, maintaining convictions in all cases, reducing punishments in cases of 10 of them, upholding sentence of two, acquitting one and differing about 5. One of these, Asokechandra Nundy, died sometime ago in jail of consumption.

The Judges have thrown out the charges under sec. 121 for waging war against the king and have admitted as evidence the confessions of Barin, Ullaskar, Upendranath, Bibhuti and others recorded by Mr. Birley, the then Magistrate of Alipore. In a separate judgment, Justice Carnduff has discussed the contention advanced by the Counsel for the defence with regard to a subject's right to be tried by a jury of 12 men and held against it. The case of Sailendra-

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nath Bose, Birendrachandra Sen, Sushilkumar Sen, Krishnajiban Sanyal and Indranath Nundy will be referred to a third Judge.

We place below side by side the various sentences of the High Court with those of Mr. Beachcroft :—

	MR. BEACHCROFT'S SENTENCE.	HIGH COURT SENTENCE.
Barin Ghose, Ullaskar Dutt	Sentence of Death	Transportation for life.
Upendra Banerjee } Hem Chandra Das }	Transportation for life	Transportation for life.
Bhibuti Sircar, Hrishikesh } Kanjilal, Indu Bhushan Roy }	Transportation for life	Trans. for ten years.
Sudhir Sircar } Abinash Bhattacharjee }	Transportation for life	Trans. for seven years.
Poresh Ch. Moulick	Trans. for ten years	"
Sisir K. Ghose } Nirapada Roy }	"	Five years' rigorous imprisonment.
Sailendra Bose, Indranath } Nundy, Birendra Ch. Sen }	Transportation for life	Judges disagreed.
Susil Kumar Sen	Seven years	Judges disagreed.
Krishna Jiban Sanyal	One year (rigorous)	Judges disagreed.
Balkrishna Hari Kane	Seven years	Acquitted.

The judgment of the High Court establishes, beyond suspicion, the fact of the Manicktollah bomb conspiracy, and The Moral of It the Police for once must get the credit for having detected in good time such a foul conspiracy. The discovery of the conspiracy and the arrest of its principal participants opened a most painful episode in the history of these provinces, and it is a standing disgrace that such a thing should have grown up amidst our midst and tempted some of our young men whom even the Chief Justice describes as "for the most part men of education, of strong religious instincts and in some cases of considerable force of character." How hopelessly must have a section of our youth gone out of hand is completely proved by this impudent and nefarious conspiracy. What a pity and shame !

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

It has gone the way of many previous well-intentioned measures of British statesmanship—the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Like Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government Scheme, the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley has very nearly been wrecked at Simla. It is difficult for us to say who is to blame for this wreckage—the small lot of tin-gods that hovers round the Home Office at Simla or the huge machinery of administration which refuses to be brought into line with progressive ideas of Government. Anyhow the facts remain that a very good part of the Reform Scheme has been wrecked and wrecked by red-tape ingenuity at Simla.

When we say that the Reform Scheme has been wrecked, we must not be understood to be condemning the whole of Lord Morley's programme for the improvement of the government and administration of India. We, of course, have nothing but praise for the appointment of two Indians as members of the India Council, of one Indian as a member of the Government of India, and of another Indian as a Privy Councillor. We have unstinted admiration for the courage and statesmanship which has also provided for the appointment of an Indian gentleman in each of the Executive Councils of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. We cannot be sufficiently thankful for the general acceptance of the principle of 'election' in supercession of 'recommendation' and 'nomination' and for the increase in the strength of the Councils from 126 to 370 and that of the elected members from 39 to 135. Nor can we ignore the various extensions of privileges conceded to members, such as the right of putting supplementary questions, of initiating advice and suggestions in the form of definite Resolutions and of dividing the Councils on certain questions. The facilities for a wider and more careful and systematic discussion of the budget and a real and active part in shaping the financial proposals are also calculated to prove of infinite good. All these are features of the Reform Scheme about which there cannot be any difference of opinion. And, let us point out, these are just the features of the Reform Scheme which were settled by Lord Morley himself and which admitted of no alteration. The Reform Scheme that we now say has been wrecked

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is only that portion of Lord Morley's programme which was left to the Government of India to give effect to and which has been covered by the Regulations that have brought the Indian Councils Act of 1909 into operation.

Before proceeding into a close examination of the spirit and the letter of the regulations just published, we shall at the outset set forth our main objections to the scheme as it stands at present :

(1) Every Provincial, as well as the Imperial, Council has been constituted for the first time into a four-chambered legislature.

(2) For the first time again the principle of representation on the basis of creed and class has been accepted by the Government of India.

(3) That while more than adequate representation has been conceded to the Mahomedans, the interests of the Hindus, even where they are in a minority, have nowhere been safeguarded.

(4) Electorates and list of electors have been most capriciously formed with an utter disregard of uniformity and sense of justice.

(5) The principle of a non-official majority in the provincial Councils has been reduced to a pretentious sham.

(6) The clause of disqualifications for candidates to election as members will virtually operate as an ordinance of exclusion.

We shall take the above heads one by one and see how they have affected Indian interests generally and special interests particularly.

A legislature composed of several chambers is an anachronism in the modern world, and it is most curious that, at a time when they are declaring a war to the finish in England against a second chamber, the idea should have entered the head of the Government of India to establish in India a four-chambered legislature. We admit that none of the Councils will consist of four distinct Houses or Chambers as such, but the method of representation sanctioned by the Government of India will everywhere have the effect of practically dividing, into four well-defined and well-marked sections, every Council in the Empire. The result will be that no one of these special interests will have much opportunity or inducement to coalesce with one another and, we are afraid, even to take counsel together. In the first few years of the experimental stage, the thing may not prove so bad as we put it today, but we have no doubt that, before many years elapse, the landholders, the Mahomedans and the representatives of trade, commerce and rural and urban rate-payers will crystallise into separate and independent groups and will fight shy of one another. They may all

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rally round the Government when needs be, but in fighting for popular rights or on behalf of general interests and against official repression and high-handedness no two sections of these legislative Councils are likely to go in the same lobby together in any important division. Hitherto there has not been much of special representations in the Councils, and solitary representatives of special interests have not found much opportunity for combined action. Now, these special interests will send representatives by batches and they will have, for the first time in the history of Indian legislation, ample opportunity of grouping together in water-tight sections. This is a distinctly retrograde step and is bound to retard, as well as to reflect, on the course of progressive legislation.

On the second head so much has been written and said both in England and in India on all its various phases that we don't think it of any use to go over the old grounds again. All that we feel inclined to say in this connection today is that it is not only the open and official recognition of the principle of *divide et impera*, so successfully followed behind the scenes since the days of Lord Dufferin, but it is also a risky departure which the Government itself may bitterly regret in a not very distant future. The Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali's success will be a lesson which no community in India will forget for many a long day, and who knows that one day the Government may not find itself hoisted with its own petard. It is certainly no good making any prophesy about the future, but regarding the past it can definitely be stated that no ruler of India, Hindu or Moslem, excepting perhaps Aurangzebe, recognised such a distinction of creeds and classes in the governance of this country. And every student of Indian history knows how dear a penalty Aurangzebe's successors paid for this imperial recognition.

On the third head it is difficult to speak with any amount of restraint because the regulations connected therewith have over-ridden logic, good sense, and the spirit of fairness and justice,—almost in the same breath. As responsible critics, we are bound to say that an adequate representation of minorities ought to be a special care for all legislatures and if there had been no more anxiety on the part of the Government of India than to do bare justice to the Mahomedan community where they are numerically weak, no exception could have been taken to it. But in its anxiety to meet Mahomedan wishes, the Government have gone so far away from the spirit of Lord Morley's despatch that it has given away the claims of all the other communities of India, particularly of the representatives of the Hindu middle

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classes. While Mahomedan representation has been adequately guaranteed, and their claims, as the *Pioneer* puts it, "even generously recognised," the claims of the Hindu community generally and of the professional classes particularly have received absolutely no consideration at the hands of the Government of India. The Government no doubt makes a show of justice by stating in the Resolution that the representation of the professional classes has been ensured in the published regulations, but we find nowhere within the covers of the *Gazette of India* any especial electorates mentioned for the middle or the professional classes. Perhaps the Government of India think that the District Boards and the Municipalities offer ample opportunities for the adequate representation of these classes : but every one who knows anything about India of today will readily admit that the District Boards are entirely controlled by the District Magistrates directly and through the nominated members indirectly. In the cases of the eight hundred Municipalities that exist all over India nearly six hundred have no franchise ; of the remaining two hundred many are controlled by indirect official influence. Even the Municipalities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which have no greater privilege than to return one member for each, have anything but very popular constitutions. Regarding the Universities, the same might be said since their constitutions have been officialised by the Universities' Act of Lord Curzon. How, under these circumstances, can independent men or representatives of the professional classes secure any representation in the Council we fail to see. In every province of India there are thousands of men today carrying their profession as lawyers, medical practitioners, professors and journalists who have absolutely been left without a share in the present arrangement of representation. And yet it is no secret that it is the leaders of these classes that formulate, guide and control public opinion in all parts of the country. It appears a cruel irony of fate that the very classes of men who, through good report and evil, have successfully agitated for the reformation and the expansion of the Councils are just the people who have been left in the cold by the inscrutable dispensations of the gods at Simla.

Another point worth noticing in this connection is that the principle of representation of the interests of minorities has only been partially conceded, in as much as the claims of the Hindus in provinces where they are numerically very weak have been completely ignored. We have tried to find in vain the logic or the

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reason of the arrangement by which 'Mahomedan will have special seats reserved for them even in the provinces of Eastern Bengal and the Punjab where they outnumber the Hindus in the proportion of 3 to 1. In the case of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Council will mainly be a legislature of Europeans and Mahomedans. The Port Commissioners of Chittagong and the tea and jute industries will return European members ; out of the five district boards and three municipal electorates, at least four will return Mahomedans as members. Besides these, there are four seats already set apart for Mahamedans. In a Council, therefore, of eighteen elected seats, the Hindus and the non-Moslem professional classes will have no chance of securing more than four seats at most. The hopelessness of the situation has caused intense resentment in the Eastern province of the Empire, and no one ought to be surprised if the most respectable leaders of the people fail to appreciate the beauty of this arrangement. Things are not much better in the Punjab, where the number of elected members has been limited only to five.

But the invidiousness of the rules do not stop there. The Government have framed one set of rules for Mahometan electors and voters and another for the Hindus. Even their qualifications differ very widely. The following statement indicates the qualifications for Hindu and Moslem voters for the election of Zemindars' representatives in the Imperial Council for an East Bengal district :—

	Hindus	Mussalmans
Paying Yearly Revenue	... Rs. 5,000	Rs. 750
„ Yearly Cesses	„ 12,50	188
„ Income tax	... None	50
Govt. Pension-holders	... None	50
Hony. Magistrates ...	... None	all
Title-holders ...	... Maharajas Nawabs	

Hindus are to pay revenue of Rs. 5,000 to be qualified as voters while Mussulmans have to pay only Rs. 750 ; Hindus paying yearly cesses to the extent of Rs. 1,250 stand on par with Moslems paying only Rs. 188. Then no Hindu Government pensioner and no Hindu Honorary Magistrate are entitled to vote while all Muslim Honorary Magistrates and retired Government servants drawing a pension of any amount over Rs. 50 will enjoy the privilege of voting. The same arbitrary distinction appears relating to the qualifications of voters for the election of Zemindars' representative for the provincial Councils. Hindus paying Rs. 3,000 revenue stand on par with Moslems paying one-fifteenth that amount ! While no Hindu graduates,

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pleaders, Honorary Magistrates or passed Pundits can vote as such, all Moslem graduates, pleaders, Honorary Magistrates and passed Moulvies are recognised as electors. Among the Hindus all title-holders below Raja, i. e., Rai Bahadurs, Rai Sahibs and Mahamahopadyayas are excluded, while among Moslems all title-holders upto the recipient of a silver Kaiser-i-Hind medal may vote.

One must not run away with the idea that this injustice has been shown only in the elections of members in the Provincial Councils. Things are equally bad with the rules of election for the Imperial Council. We shall not discuss in these pages the equity of granting special concessions to Mahomedans where they form not only the minority but also make up a respectable proportion of the people. In such provinces the Mahomedans have some show of reason for claiming special representation ; but in order to meet the wishes of the Muslim League and of His Highness the Aga Khan, the Government of India have made most absurd concessions even in provinces where they stand to the remaining population in the ratio of 1 to 5. *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay points to one of these absurdities in the following note :

" The Mahomedan non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council (of Bombay), who will number not less than six in any year, are given the right of electing a member to the Viceroy's Council. These six members, again, are to vote in the election of two members to the Viceroy's Council by the non-official Council. The voting is to be cumulative in order to enable a strong minority to elect a representative. If the six members give both their votes to a nominee of their own and induce four others to do the same, they will send a third Mahomedan to the Viceroy's Council. This is to say, 20 per cent. of the population of this Presidency will have 2, and may have 3, of the 4 members that the whole Presidency is given in the Viceroy's Council. It is unfair enough that four-fifths of the population, because it follows a certain creed, should be given the same measure of representation as the remaining one-fifth. But the extreme of absurdity is reached when one-fifth of the population is enabled to elect three-fourths of the representatives in the Viceroy's Council."

If such unequal and invidious treatment justify the solemn pledges contained in Queen Victoria's Proclamation, we must not blame Lord Curzon for having interpreted that sacred document in the way he did.

In the making up of the lists of electorates and electors again,

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the regulations show the anxiety of their framers to exclude as much of popular representation as is possible under the circumstances. While Trade and Jute and European commerce have been entitled to special representation in the local Councils, the claims of the learned professions have been completely ignored everywhere. The English Bar and the legal profession in Calcutta and the Muffasil, the medical profession in every part of the country and journalism absolutely go without any recognition. For a long time it was an unwritten law to nominate a member in the Imperial Council from the English section of the Calcutta Bar and another member from among the Vakils of the Calcutta High Court. This seems to have been practically abrogated by the new regulations. The only classes the Government now recognise as fit to participate in the new scheme, either as voters or electors, are (a) the Mahomedans, (b) the land-holders, (c) members of certain district boards and municipalities, (d) fellows of the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore, and (e) proprietors, managers or agents of commercial farms and of tea and jute concerns. Of these different classes, the landlords and Mahomedans, as such, were eligible neither as voters nor electors under the regulations of the Councils Act of 1892, which was passed at the instance of Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne. Under the older regulations all the electorates were mixed and very few constituencies represented special interests. As a result the elections were availed of by the real leaders of the people, many of whom found ready admission into the Councils. Under the present regulations, the door has been practically shut against such people. In this sense the rules have gone back upon the principle of popular franchise. If the Government really think that the District Boards and the Municipalities are the natural constituencies for returning the leaders of the professional classes and of the educated community as members of the Councils, its ignorance about the constitution of these boards must be 'colossal'. Most of the District Boards are not popular bodies and, in nine cases out of ten, will not elect popular men. The Municipalities will under the new conditions have to limit their choice from among their own bodies which, being mixed electorates, are not sure of always returning the men we want in the Councils. Under the circumstances the educated community and the professional classes seem almost to have been disenfranchised. While educated opinion has been treated with such intentional slight, the new franchise has practically been thrown open to classes unrecognised by any previous Acts. We refuse to believe that these regulations will succeed in placating

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even the Moderate politicians of India whom the Government was naturally so anxious to get round to its side.

Nice distinctions have also been drawn between landlords and Mahomedans of one province and those of another. The qualifications of voters and electors nowhere agree and are not laid down on any definite principles. In one province educated Mahomedans find themselves precluded from taking any part in the elections. In another, there do not appear to be too many Mahomedans fit enough to avail of the generous provisions of the new regulations. The landholders of Eastern Bengal, who are a more numerous and independent body of men, have been allowed to send only two representatives in their provincial Council, while the less independent and the less numerous landlords of Western Bengal and Behar will have the privilege of sending as many as five members to the Bengal Council. Again, the District Boards and Municipalities in almost every province has equal number of seats, but, most unfortunately, in the case of Eastern Bengal, the semi-independent Municipalities will have only three members while the semi-official district boards as many as five. The logic of this all passeth ordinary human comprehension.

We shall now come to that part of Lord Morley's scheme upon which great expectations were raised about this time last year. No one of course believed that the Government would leave any loophole or any chance of defeat by accepting the principle of a non-official majority in its entirety. But the way this concession has been hedged in has made it more than useless for all practical purposes. Under the old order of things, there were only two parties to range themselves against each other during the passage of any bill—the officials and the non-officials. The non-officials were divided into nominated and 'recommended' members. These 'recommended' members, for we had no 'election' in those days, were generally the pick of the people and in consequence very often carried the non-official members along with them. On one or two occasions, it will be remembered, the Government was on the point of being defeated by a combination of nominated and recommended members. Under the new rules, the Government of India have carefully guarded against the chance of any such defeat by not throwing overboard the principle of a non-official majority, for, in view of Lord Morley's definite pronouncement on the subject, it did not dare give it the go-by. But it has, in an indirect and insidious way, circumvented Lord Morley's pious wish. It has accepted the principle of a non-official majority in letter, but in spirit it has

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thrown it away by making any combination of the non-official elements in any Council absolutely *impossible*—by setting class against class and creed against creed. With four different elements or, as we have said above, with four water-tight sections in every legislative chamber, the pretence of a non-official majority in the reformed Councils will soon be found out to be a great sham and, instead of being a step in advance, it will be found to be a retrograde measure. This criticism will hold equally good about those Councils where, for the present, the non-official majority will only consist of non-official members *nominated* by the Government.

We now come to the last head of our grievances—the disqualifications of candidates for election. The Regulations have not left much room for independent and popular representation in the Councils, and the limitation of the franchise has been still more restricted by a most absurd and unnecessary catalogue of disqualifications. The regulations under the Act of 1892 made it possible for all really worthy men to come into the Councils ; the new regulations disqualify a large number of them under various heads. In England every man who is elected by a constituency and is prepared to take the oath of allegiance is entitled to take his seat in the House of Commons. In most European countries no cognizance is taken of punishments and prosecutions in the Criminal Courts. An undischarged insolvent is in many countries no doubt disqualified to sit in a legislative assembly; excepting this, and moral turpitude of a very serious order and the charge of high treason and dishonest and dishonourable practices, no legislature in the civilized world makes any other offence a disqualification for its membership. The Government of India is of course not bound to go by the precedents or practice of other countries ; but in the name of reformation and concession it should not go back upon all principles of modern representation. The clause of disqualifications in the new regulations has been aptly described by an Anglo-Indian critic as ‘ virtually an ordinance of exclusion.’

The Reforms, on the whole, as modified at Simla, appear to us to be imposing in appearance and meagre in substance. The Regulations are retrograde and reactionary and inconsistent to a degree. While Moslems and landlords and titled-folk receive preferential treatment everywhere, the representation of the educated or the professional classes is given a wide berth throughout. While one principle is recognised and acted upon in case of one community, it is cast to the wind when the case of another comes for consideration. While the last head of disqualifications is sufficient to cover all

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possible cases which the government may have in view, it has imposed most unnecessary and absurd restrictions upon the electors' free choice and discretion. While accepting the principle of a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils, it has so arranged the system and machinery of representation as to make the chance of a popular vote almost hopeless. For these reasons we say that the Council Regulations have wrecked a good part of Lord Morley's Reform Scheme. And in this connection we may be permitted to remind our readers that while very many important principles enunciated by Lord Morley in his famous despatch of last November have been ignored, dropped or altered, the main propositions of the Government of India's despatch of 1907, issued over the signature of Sir Harold Stuart, have all been upheld. The Government of India have not failed to invest 'the natural leaders of society' of Sir Harold's famous despatch with the dignity and prestige which Lord Morley was reluctant to recognise. They have also maintained their position in favour of special Mahometan and against too much of lawyer, representation. All along the line, Simla has triumphed over Lord Morley. Under the circumstance we cannot admit the Regulations to be ushering in a period of momentous changes (if, of course, they mean for the better); nor can we recognise them as anyway constituting 'a generous fulfilment of the gracious intention foreshadowed in the King-Emperor's Message of last year.' And if the result of these would be to legalise the distinctions that have existed in India for a long time between classes and creeds, to introduce water-tight sections into every legislative chamber in India to reduce the non-official majority into a pretentious sham and to keep out most capable men from taking any part in the legislation of their country, surely, surely, the present regulations, which go under the name of the 'reform scheme,' will have done infinitely greater mischief than good to this country.

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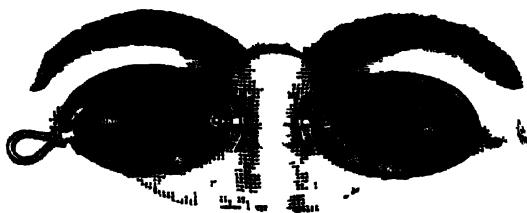
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VOL. X]

DECEMBER—1909

[No. 56

DIARY FOR NOVEMBER, 1909

Date

1. The Anjuman Islam Suwat of Bombay at a meeting assembled expresses its disagreement with the dictum of the Privy Council that the *wakf-i-ala-awlad* is prohibited by the Mahomedan Law.
2. H. H. the Maharajah of Jodhpur presents a lakh of rupees to the Mayo College, Ajmir, as a tribute of admiration for Lord Minto's work in India and in gratitude for his attitude towards the Native States.

In course of a judgment acquitting a person sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Muzaffarpur on a charge of murder, Sir Lawrence Jenkins urges the necessity of representation by a lawyer of every person on trial on a charge of murder.

An important Conference to discuss the needs of technical education in Burma is held at Rangoon in the office of the Director of Public Instruction.

3. 700 Hindu residents of Cawnpore petition the Local Government against the alignment of a new road entailing the demolition of nine temples.

4. At an "at home" given to Mr. H. S. L. Polak by the members of the Hindu Social Club of Rangoon, the situation of the Indians in South Africa is most sympathetically discussed.

The Government of Bombay issues a resolution constituting a body out of the Talukdars, Imamdarss and Landholders of substantial means in Guzerat, to be known as the Sardars of Guzerat, with equal privileges in respect of rank and precedence as the first-class Sardars of the Deccan and who will have the privilege of electing from among themselves a member of the local Legislative Council.

Mr. Hirralal Ghandi, son of Mr. Gandhi, who had been arrested on the Transvaal border as a prohibited immigrant, is fined £100, with the alternative of 6 months' hard labour. He elects to go to prison.

5. The Hindusthan Press, the Sewak Press, and the Arorbans Press and the Quami and the Bande Mataram Book Agencies of Lahore are searched by the Police. Lala Lal Chand Fawlk of the Bande Mataram Agency is taken into custody and Swaram Singh arrested at Lyalpur and Mr. Nandgopal, Editor of the *Swarajya*, is arrested at Alahabad,—all on charges of Sedition.

6. It is reported today that the Governor of East Africa has appointed Mr. Alibhoy Moola Jiwanji to be a non-official member of the Legislative Council of the Protectorate.

7. A Review of Irrigation in India for the three years ending in 1907-8 showing a steady increase in the total irrigated area in general and the area irrigated by the Productive Works in particular is published today.

The Viceroy arrives at Gwalior and is entertained at a State Banquet in which mutual appreciation is exchanged between the Maha-

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raja and the Viceroy, His Excellency paying a high tribute to His Highness as an able administrator and a great military organiser.

A dacoity is committed at Moheshtallah, six miles from Belvedere, by people armed with guns and swords, in the house of a well-to-do merchant in which the ruffians take away about Rs. 25,000 in cash and valuables.

8. Owing to "gross irregularities" in connection with the election of the President of the Bhimdi Municipality in Bombay, the Government of India by a Resolution issued today withdraws from this Municipality the privilege of electing its President.

At a *converzatione* held at Lucknow by the People's Association, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., condemns the deportations as a serious blunder committed by the Government and advises Indians to follow constitutional methods of agitation.

The village of Sheikh in the Frontier Province is raided by a gang of Mahsuds when one man is killed and several wounded and the raiders get off with some loot.

9. The King Emperor's Birthday is celebrated in various parts of India.

At the Council Meeting of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, an expenditure of 16½ lakhs of rupees is authorised for the cost of buildings, equipment and drainage for the Institute.

On Mr. Bhide's tendering an unqualified apology and paying Rs. 800 as damages, Mr. Gokhale withdraws the libel case brought against him. Of this amount, Mr. Gokhale gives away Rs. 400 to the Hindu Widows' Home and 400 to the Depressed Classes Mission.

10. A daring dacoity is reported from Rajnagore in Dacca and is alleged to have been committed by some 40 *Bhadralok* youths armed with guns at the house of Raimohan Shah, the ruffians having decamped with 30 thousand rupees and jewellery worth Rs. 5000.

11. The Sultan of Jaora issues a Proclamation warning his people against the teachings of the sedition-mongers.

Zialu Huo, editor and proprietor of the defunct *Peshawari* in the N. W. Frontier Province, is arrested under Section 124A.

At a meeting of the Central Asian Society, Sir Edwin Collen presiding, Captain Macaulay, of the Indian Staff Corps, outlines a scheme by which India could maintain a fleet on the Pacific for the defence of Colombo and Singapore. The Chairman agrees that India should be regarded as the great Eastern Base of the Empire.

Lady Minto, while opening the Princess of Wales Club for ladies and visiting the Sultania Girls' School at Bhopal, warmly eulogises the special care bestowed upon female education in Bhopal by its female ruler.

At the Convention of the Presbyterian Mission at Washington in U. S., Mr. Robert Speer, while advocating missionary activities in India, referred to the bitter hatred of the Indians against the English, whereupon Mr. James Bryce, the English Ambassador, and some ladies of the English Embassy, quitted the Convention Hall as a protest against the statement.

13. A dastardly attempt is made at Ahmedabad upon the life of Lord Minto during his recent visit at that place by a bomb thrown towards His Excellency while driving through a public thoroughfare.

15. A notification is issued in the *India Gazette* introducing the Indian Councils Amendment Act with effect from today, dissolving all Legislative Councils previously in existence and promulgating voluminous regulations for election of members to, and the rules for the discussion of public questions and the budgets in, the Imperial and various Provincial Legislative Councils.

16. At the State banquet at Baroda held in honor of His Excellency the Viceroy, His Highness the Gaekwar observed that (1) "any curtailment of freedom in internal affairs of Native States lessens our sense of responsibility and weakens our power for effecting improvement, (2) that to secure genuine loyalty from the subjects they should be given proper share in the administration of the country and made to feel that the

Government is their own, and (3) urges the devising of a system of primary and secondary education which will aid in the development of the reasoning powers of men and in the formation of their character.

A daring robbery is committed at the Malkhanagar Post Office in Dacca when the Postmaster and the Peon had their throats cut with knives.

18. A young Bengali named Mr. Surendranath Gangesprasad Banerjee is arrested by the Bombay Police in connection with the attempted outrage upon the Viceroy at Ahmedabad.

The appeal of Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar of Nasik, who was sentenced to transportation for life on a charge of attempting to wage war against the King, is dismissed by Mr. Justice Chandravarkar of the Bombay High Court.

In the French Chamber, M. Jaures, a socialist, incidentally referred to the attempt on Lord Minto's life and congratulated the Viceroy on the reforms and the promulgation inspite of difficulties, of a new and more liberal regime.

19. The Viceroy received an address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

In the libel suit brought by Mr. G. K. Gokhale against Mr. K. K. Phadke, Mr. Justice MacLeod of the Bombay High Court awards Rs. 5,000 as damages to the plaintiff.

Mr. Nanalal Pranshankar of Ahmedabad is arrested by the Bombay Police in connection with the bomb outrage at Ahmedabad.

20. On the Resolutions of the Punjab Government absolving the Police from the blame laid upon them by the Punjab Chief Court, in the Golab Bano's case, regarding which a statement outlining the Local Government's position was made by Mr. Beven Petman before the same Court, Mr. Justice Robertson passes a lengthy order in which he criticises the Government's method of enquiry into the conduct of the police and considers the enquiry to be incomplete.

21. The accounts published today relating to the sea-borne trade and navigation of British India for the six months, April to September, 1909, show a remarkable falling off compared with the corresponding period of the two preceding years, the decrease in the imports of merchandise alone being nearly 6½ crore of rupees.

23. Judgment in the Alipore Bomb Case is delivered today. Death sentence is commuted to transportation for life in the case of Barin and Ullashkar. Sentences are reduced in the case of several persons and one is acquitted. The Chief Justice and Justice Carnduff differ as regards the conviction of five persons whose case is referred to a third Judge for decision.

The ceremony of installing the Raja of Tipperah is performed today by the L.-G. of E. B. and Assam.

Mr. Syed Amir Ali is sworn as a Privy Councillor in the presence of Lord Morley. He will henceforward sit as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Viceroy visits Goa and is accorded a hearty welcome by the Portuguese Governor-General.

24. Mr. N. Williamson, Political Officer of Sadiya in Upper Assam, delivers an address before the Royal Geographical Society in London, advocating the construction of a railway from India to China Via Lohit Valley to Szechuan as a means of procuring an enormous expansion of trade between India and China.

25. In reply to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith states that Lord Morley and the Indian Government had the case of the deported Indians under special consideration with a view to their release at the earliest moment which the general situation would admit.

26. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, as President of the Bombay Presidency Association, and Sir Currimbhoy Elphinstone, as President of the Aujuman-i-Islam, Bombay, wire to Lord Morley requesting him to convey to the Colonial Secretary their most heartfelt satisfaction at the policy adopted

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in East Africa by nominating Indians on the East African Legislative Council.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., is entertained at the Bombay Presidency Association, and presented with an address from the newly formed Mill-hands' Association when he expressed the hope that before many years were over he would hear of an Indian Labour Movement joining hands with that of the west.

27. The Punjab Moslem League holds a meeting to express general satisfaction at the Reform Scheme and to suggest that the right of electing a Mahomedan member to the Imperial Council be conceded to the Punjab Muslims. The League congratulates Mr. Amir Ali on his elevation to the Privy Council.

The Viceroy receives an address from the Planters of Mysore.

Interviewed by a Press Representative in Bombay Mr. K. G. Gupta is reported to have said that "granting of all demands of Mahomedans has given rise to reasonable complaints on the part of other communities."

28. The anniversary of the Dayanand / Iglo-Vedic College and the Gurukul takes place today at Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai speaking in connection with the former refers to the question of Students and Politics and observes that students should assist in the progress of the national work and not try to guide it.

29. A few youngmen dressed as Sannyasi are arrested at Agurtala as political suspects.

30. The annual St. Andrew's day is celebrated at the Calcutta Town Hall, Mr. C. W. N. Graham presiding.

Mr. R. C. Dutt, late Commissioner of Orissa and an ex-President of the Indian National Congress and the Prime Minister of Baroda, dies tonight at Baroda.

It is announced today that Mr. Ratan Tata, son of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, has offered Rs. 25,000 to Mr. Gandhi to be spent for relieving the destitution of the Transvaal Indians and also for the furtherance of the Indian cause.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The Cochin Police

No member of the Cochin Police force is totally illiterate and only literates who are of good physique and smart appearance and bearing a good character are enlisted in the Force. Good news, indeed !

More Special Electorates

The trustees of the Parsee Punchayat in response to a requisition forwarded to them and signed by about three thousand members of the community held a meeting of the community in Bombay on the 10th of December last to appeal to the Government for a special electorate for the community. Whose turn next ?

The Unrest in India

We understand that extraordinary precautions were taken by the C. I. D. and the Indian Police to guard the Viceroy and his train during his last autumn tour through Rajputana, Bombay, Mysore and Madras. Wherever the Viceregal train passed during the night, the entire line was guarded by a troop of torch-bearers posted a few hundred yards apart. In Bombay, Bangalore and Madras several thousands of policemen, besides about a couple of hundred C. I. D. officers, were drafted to keep watch and guard over all Viceregal movements. Does not all this remind of the life of the Czar of all the Russia ?

Railway Employees

The number of servants of all races employed on open railway lines in India at the close of 1883 was :

Europeans	...	...	...	3,995
Eurasians	...	...	...	3,979
Indians	...	...	...	177,287

At the close of 1907, the figures were :—

Europeans	...	...	...	7,180
Eurasians	...	...	...	9,982
Indians	...	...	...	499,594

But this is only one side of the question. What of the higher appointments ? Will any body dare produce the figures ?

The Grave of Kalidasa

There is a tradition in Ceylon, widely spread over the island and supported by old Sinhalese authorities, that Kalidas, the foremost of Indian poets, died at a place now called Matara, situated on the sea-shore at the southern extremity of the Ceylon Coast Line railway. It is told that Kalidas's grave was on the banks of the river Kalindi (now called Kirindi) at a short distance from its confluence with the sea. The ground is now marked by a garden of coccanut and arecanut trees in the premises of a big monastery

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called Tishyarama Vihara. It was further reported that King Kumaradas (also called Kumara Dhatusena), at whose invitation Kalidas came to Ceylon, fell prostrate upon the blazing funeral pyre of the poet for whose life he sacrificed his own.

Loss of Lives From Wild Animals

From an annual Government resolution, it appears that the total numbers of persons killed by wild animals rose from 1,966 in 1907 to 2,166 in 1908, for which tigers in Bengal and leopards and tigers in Central Provinces and Berar are mainly responsible. Next to Bengal, Madras Presidency had the highest mortality. The number of wild animals destroyed was 17,026, as compared with 1,581 in 1907, the total of tigers and leopards destroyed being 1,449 and 5,259 respectively. The number of licenses issued under the Arms Act was 27,922 in 1908 against 11,796 in 1907. The total mortality among human beings of snake-bite fell from 21,419 to 19,738, and the reports regarding the success of the Lauder-Brunton treatment of snake-bite are, on the whole, encouraging although the usual uncertainty as to the identification of the snake in the majority of cases still continues.

A Lost Leader

The last issue of the "Bande Mataram," which is under the control of Madame Cama, compares Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's alleged private utterances with his recent public declarations. He is charged with "contradicting himself, demeaning himself, and committing sins in public life which make us hang down our head in shame though he is the culprit." The monthly "organ of Indian independence" goes on to remark : "He always mentions his God in all important utterances. He prates of spirituality and religion. He poses as a pious, prayerful sort of person, but he is only a latter-day tame Jewish prophet, with the fire all gone out of him. He would fain act as an Old Testament Prophet, but without the vision, the sincerity, the passion of the seer. All these antics have only amused and irritated us." And again : "If Mr. Pal is timid, that is no reason why he should misrepresent the whole nation and its ancestors." What "Bande Mataram" may say is not of great consequence, but these remarks are worth quoting as showing that the specious insincerity of Mr. Pal's protestations disgusts his quondam associates without deceiving loyalists who have any knowledge of his past record. He is disowned in both camps, and his casuistry has made him a political pariah.

Exodus to the Hills

A resident of Madras writing to an English paper complains of the length of time which the local Government now spends at Ootacamund. This is an old story, and many years ago the local press took the matter up warmly ; but notwithstanding many protests the period of the emigration of the Government to the hills has increased until it now covers about seven months per annum. Probably this is the result of the example set at Simla. These migrations are a source of heavy expense to the country, and of considerable inconvenience to a great many people ; but the strongest objection to them at the present time is that they have the effect of separating Government from the governed, and putting the official class out of touch with the Indians. A brief

excursion of two or three months to the hills might be excusable but when it comes to seven months per annum, the headquarters of the Government might as well be fixed in the hills altogether. It cannot be contended that there is any real necessity for the present state of things, for large numbers of merchants, professional men and even officials manage to reside at Madras for the greater part of the year without finding their health or their energies impaired. Very nearly the same thing might be said of all the other Provincial Government in India. This is 'efficiency' with vengeance.

The South African Question

The leaders of the Transvaal Indian community who went on deputation to England have returned home to report the failure of their mission. Yet, at one point, they reached a stage which less logical minds might have regarded as a success. General Smuts was willing to repeal the Asiatic Act, while inserting in the ordinary Immigration Act a clause limiting the number of Asiatic immigrants. But the Indians are fighting for honor. They rightly object to any special ordinance directed against their race. They would, however, accept a clause empowering the Administration in general terms to frame regulations limiting the number of immigrants of any nationality. There is thus no material point at issue. The Government is prepared to allow the entry in small numbers of educated Indians, notably teachers and priests. The Indians do not press for entry in the mass. The whole dispute now turns solely on the point of principle, whether a limitation accepted by both sides should be defined in terms directly aimed at Indians, or drafted in general terms, though, in fact, it may be applied only to Indians. These men have fought their case with magnificent spirit and self-sacrifice, combined with great subtlety. Their leader, Mr. Gandhi, is not merely a clever politician, but an able thinker of the Tolstoyan school and a convincing writer. Race prejudice in such a conflict becomes as ridiculous as it is odious. General Smuts would only add to his own reputation by consenting to the insubstantial yet ideally vital concession which the Indians claim.

Japan and India

Japan would appear to be making a special bid for closer commercial and political relations with India. The newly established Anglo-Japanese Association, we gather from an article in the first number of the "Journal" of that Association, by Count Shigenobu Okuma, was organised with the object that it should be "a linking organ between India and Japan by bringing them to a much closer relation, quite apart from any political meaning, and contributing as much as possible to the development of the two countries." The writer goes on to say : "This being the object of the Association, I pray, our brethren in India, that you will approve of our sincere motive and the object of the Association, and not only for the sake of the Indian nation of three hundred million souls alone, but for the sake of the whole world as well you will join our Association, thus to increase the chances of bringing the two nations into a closer contact, and co-operate with us, so that the object of the Association may be fully attained." In another part of the article the author puts forward reasons why India should seek closer relations with Japan. Thus : "Men are created equal. Asiatics

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are no less human than Europeans, and so it would appear that there is no reason why we should befriend one country before another. But in the case of India, situated in Asia, she had a close, friendly relation with Japan, particularly, with our ancestors, and her relation with Japan, indeed, may be likened to a kinship that has long existed between two old families. They have, therefore, special relation with Japan, which justifies the two nations in aiding and befriending each other before any other."

From Oxford to India

Oxford continues to furnish by far the largest number of recruits for the Indian Civil Service. Fifty fully-fledged civilians have recently left for the United Kingdom on completion of their year's probation. Of the successful candidates in the open competition last year, 28 were from Oxford, 19 from Cambridge, 4 from Irish colleges, and 1 from Glasgow. For the probationary year, which is always passed at one of the four institutions subsidised by the India Office, Oxford retained twenty-two of its men and had, in addition, the Glaswegian ; Cambridge kept ten, and had one migrant from Oxford; the four Irish men and one Oxonian went to Trinity College, Dublin. University College, London, gave the other thirteen-nine from Cambridge and four from Oxford—their training in the vernacular of the provinces to which they had been provisionally appointed and the other subjects of the final examination. One of the Oxford men failed to qualify in that examination, and one other died during the year. One feature of the list of successful candidates in the last open competition, says the "Pall Mall Gazette," is the number of universities shown. Manchester, Glasgow, London, and Gasway has each a representative ; Aberdeen has two ; Trinity College, Dublin, has three ; and Edinburgh the same number ; Cambridge has fourteen, and Oxford twenty-four. For the final year twenty-three are working at Oxford, the nineteen men who remain there having been joined by two from Aberdeen, one from Edinburgh, and the Glasgow man. Cambridge retains nine of its students and receives one from Edinburgh. The Glaswegian man joins the three at Dublin. Fourteen are at University College, London, made up a five from Oxford, five from Cambridge, one from Manchester, the external London University student and the single successful non-University candidate.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Extension of Jute Cultivation

During the last four years, trials with jute have been made in other parts of India than Bengal. The results of the experiments indicate that jute might be grown successfully in—(a) the Deltas of the Godavari and Kistna, and (b) the Malabar Coast, Madras, (c) the Chhattisgarh and Nagpur Divisions of the Central Provinces. Experiments in the Kavery Delta, Central Provinces, Bombay and Burmah have been abandoned.

Carallio Wood

Mr. Troup, Imperial Forest Economist to the Government of India, in a recently published monograph on carallio wood says that

it is suitable for panelling, picture-frames, and other ornamental work if cut on a radial section to show the silver-grain and that it has been found very suitable for brush-backs. The tree is well distributed throughout India and Burma, being found in the Sub-Himalayan tract as far west as Dehra Dun ; in Bengal, Assam, Khasia Hills, Chittagong, Chota Nagpur, Orissa and the Circars, and the Western Ghats ; chiefly on the banks of streams in shady localities.

Enriching the Soil

An inquiry has been made into Indian soils, with regard to their capacity for taking up nitrogen, by nitrifying organisms and the purification of sewage and sullage. It is stated that the soil almost everywhere in India is peculiarly well adapted for the purification of sullage, and that the land treatment of sullage is simpler, cheaper, and more efficient than treatment by filter or sprinkler beds. Compared with effluents from artificial filters, land treatment can in India produce a far better effluent, both chemically and bacteriologically. With the great necessity for a liquid fertilising medium, it seems likely that caste prejudice will not long withstand the manifest advantages of applying fertilisers in some form.

Spanish Trade with India

It is a curious fact that the trade of Spain with India has always been infinitesimal : indeed, it would seem as if no attempt had been made in the past to develop trade between Spain and India. Referring to the accounts relating to the sea-borne trade and navigation of British India, we find that not a single ship entered any Indian ports from Spain during the six months ending 30th September, 1909 ; and that the only commodity Spain sends us is salt, the value of which during the period above referred to amounted to Rs. 10,33,294. Spain took only three of our products during the same period, viz. Cotton to the value of Rs. 5,81,580, which had fallen to that figure from Rs. 25,25,537 in 1907 ; hides, Rs. 22,12,594, and raw jute Rs. 5,85,835, having dropped to this figure from Rs. 21,67,662 in 1907.

Imported Coal in India

Coal has been for some time a minor item of India's imports. Until three years ago it appeared that native coal was steadily displacing imported coal in India. Since then, it would appear that a reaction has set in, and the imports recorded in 1908-09 are the highest since 1896-97. Dealing with this subject the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence in India writes :—" The country that contains sources of good export coal possesses in effect a title to so much of the world's carrying trade ; and acquisition by a foreign people of any part of those sources is an adroit stroke of business. It will be interesting, moreover, to see how far the development of Australia's advantages in this respect, which are clearly reflected in India's import figures, may be found consistent with her policy as regards white crews."

Silk Cotton in India

At last there seems to be a profitable opening for the trade in Indian Silk Cotton, the fluffy substance surrounding the seeds of the common "Simal" tree of India. It is said that, after exhaustive

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experiments, a joint-stock company at Chemnitz is about to place Kapok yarn ("Kapok" being the Dutch name for our silk-cotton) in large quantities. It is stated that the spinning of this yarn does not require any new machinery, but involves a secret process. This is a very important matter, as the need of special machinery has much to do with retarding the development of the rhea fibre. It appears that the Chemnitz company has so far been able to manufacture Kapok yarn up to No. 12's, English count; and in the opinion of experts, the yarn is soft, silk-like and of excellent quality. If the report is true, then India ought to be able to supply large quantities of Kapok, as the tree grows in great profusion in many parts of India.

Tobacco in India

The American Consul at Bombay in a report to his Government on the tobacco trade in India says:—"According to official statistics the area under tobacco cultivation in India is about 1,700 square miles, more than half of which is in Bengal. The imports of tobacco into India exceed the exports, due mainly to the large import of cheap cigarettes. However, in spite of these large importations, the Indian cigarette, locally known as "biri," more than holds its own, except perhaps in the seaport towns where no inland freight has been paid upon the imported article. The cheapness of the "biri" is amazing, a thousand of them being sold for 20 cents and even less, notwithstanding the tobacco for their manufacture is sometimes brought from Madras and Assam, but the wages paid are only a little over half a cent for rolling 100 cigarettes. The Indian cigar industry is an expanding one and Indian manufactures are now exported to all parts of the world, but the quality of both the Indian cigar and Burma cheroot is very variable, due to the uneven quality of the tobacco. The Government has made repeated efforts to improve the culture, but owing to the conservatism of the cultivators no success has been attained."

Remarkable Frauds

A remarkable series of frauds in connection with the shipment of cotton goods from Germany, and involving the loss of many thousands of pounds, has been perpetrated upon several British firms who have branches in Calcutta. When cotton materials are sent from Europe to India, they are packed in large wooden cases lined with zinc, and the articles themselves are packed in long cardboard boxes of a fancy description. Some weeks ago, upon the outer cases of several large consignments being opened, many of the boxes were found empty, while others contained slabs of black material, which were recognised as a composition of a coal dust used for fuel. These had evidently been packed in the cases for the purpose of making up the deficiency in weight, and in order to avoid suspicion on the part of the Customs authorities. As a matter of fact, from one steamer alone no fewer than fifty-five large cases were found when opened to contain nothing but empty boxes, involving the victimising of five of the leading Calcutta firms. The theory most favoured is that the extraction of the fabrics was done by the packers, in collusion with some shipping clerks, the object being to warehouse the goods secretly for a future deal.

Undeveloped Wealth of India

A correspondent of the *Times of India* draws attention to the undeveloped wealth of the country and quotes some interesting figures. He estimates that at the end of 1907 silver to the value of about £250,000,000 was either hoarded in the shape of bullion and coin or had been manufactured into ornaments. And, in addition to this, between the years 1835 and 1907 gold to the value of £200,000,000 (to say nothing of the gold actually produced and to some extent absorbed in the country) was imported into India and has largely vanished. That is to say, it has been hoarded to a greater or less degree. It will perhaps not be denied that were this money available for the opening up of much-needed industries, the country at large would greatly benefit. In the sugar industry real progress is being made on a certain scale in Bombay, the United Provinces, and perhaps elsewhere; but an enormous amount of work still remains to be done and a great deal of capital is urgently required to do it. It has been said that India is a country that could not only grow all the sugar she requires, but become an important exporter of that product, more especially to the Far East. What are the facts? During the official year 1908-9, India actually imported 12,078,233 cwt of sugar, valued at about £7,000,000. She imported nearly 1,000,000 cwt more than in the previous year. Among less important, but illustrative industries, is the manufacture of matches, all the materials for which are readily available in many parts of the country. A few match factories are already at work, but the yearly imports of matches amount in value to the large sum of £500,000. A short time ago attention was officially drawn to the openings that exist in the Punjab for the manufacture of glass and glassware, but most Presidencies and provinces in India would seem to be in the same boat in this respect. At all events, the glassware imports are now valued at £700,000, and the earthenware imports at over £280,000. Similarly, there has been a plethora of Government reports pointing out the scope that exists for paper mills fitted with the latest machinery to deal with the stores of paper-pulp fibres that exist in abundance all over India. Yet in 1908-9, India imported paper and pasteboard to the value of nearly Rs. 9,000,000.

SELECTIONS

ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA

"The East bowed low before the blast
In patient deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

I do not propose to discuss at length either the feasibility of invasion, or the methods necessary for defence. These questions have been fully dealt with by the illustrious soldier who has recently been exercising so great an influence for good over the military destinies of our Indian Empire. I intend only to review an historical instance of an invasion of India, merely remarking that history has a tendency to repeat itself, and that what has happened, not once only but many times, may happen again ; as Thucydides well understood when he dedicated his history of the Peloponnesian War, "to those who desire to have a true view of what has happened, and of the like or similar things which, in accordance with human nature, will probably thereafter happen."

It is too commonly supposed that the frontier of India is an insurmountable barrier, the passage of which, owing to ranges of rugged and lofty mountains, is almost a physical impossibility ; but it may be noted, in this connection, that India has been invaded many times, by at least a dozen conquerors. The very composition of its motley population proves how frequently the country has been overrun, and the original inhabitants have been driven to share a refuge with wild beasts amid the gloomy fastnesses of forest and mountain. Hannibal's plan of passing the Alps and attacking Rome in the plains of Italy would probably have been considered impossible had it remained a plan only.

In considering invasions of India in the past, it must, however, be remembered that conditions, both geographical and political, are altered in our time. India is now one great Empire under one Government, its resources and its strength organised and consolidated for defence ; its frontiers resting upon great natural and artificial obstacles, behind which, in full readiness for war, stand the loyal and valiant legions of the Empire. In the past the country comprised a number of independent states and kingdoms, frequently hostile to one another, and incapable of co-operation for common defence. The frontiers, moreover, have varied geographically from time to time. Thus, when Alexander the Great invaded India, Taxiles reigned over territory extending from Kabul to the Hydaspes, now known as the Jhelum River, nor did that Eastern monarch oppose the advance of the great Macedonian. Obstacles had, however, to be surmounted ; but what obstacles have ever proved insuperable to genius and perseverance ? Alexander had to cross a hostile Asia. Now the outposts of the Power which has placed a million of men on a theatre of war at the end of six thousand miles of a single line of railway stand only

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a short four hundred miles from our North-West Frontier. Our fortresses stand like sentinels guarding the passes, but it would be unwise to trust implicitly in their vigilance and their strength. The assaults of the Japanese on the defences of Port Arthur have proved that even permanent fortifications, however heroically defended, are not impregnable. In the space that lies between the Russian and the British frontiers is a barren land, a dreary waste, much of it waterless, most of it desert, and inhabited by a fierce and warlike people. Whose side would that people take if the day of battle should come? Time alone can show, but the Afghan is proverbially treacherous, and the wealth and plunder of Indian cities would prove a great temptation. Writing from Khokand in 1877 Skoheleff said, regarding a possible invasion of India: "It would be our chief duty to organise masses of Asiatic cavalry, and hurling them on India as our vanguard, under the banner of blood and rapine, thus bring back the times of Tamarlane."

In the spring of the year 334 B. C. Alexander of Macedon, bent on the conquest of the Persian Empire, of which the kingdom of Taxiles was an appanage, crossed the Hellespont at the head of his army, of which Bishop Thirwall, in his 'History of Greece,' gives the following description:—

"The main body, the phalanx—or quadruple phalanx, as it was sometimes called, to mark that it was formed of our divisions, each bearing the same name—presented a mass of 18,000 men, which was distributed, at least by Alexander, into six brigades of 3000 each, formidable in its aspect and, on ground suited to its operations, irresistible in its attacks. The phalangite soldier wore the usual defensive armour of the Greek heavy infantry—helmet, breast-plate, and greaves; and almost the whole front of his person was covered with the long shield called the *aspis*. His arms were a sword long enough to enable a man in the second rank to reach an enemy who had come to close quarters with the comrade who stood before him, and the celebrated spear, known by the Macedonian name of *sarissa*, four and twenty feet long. The *sarissa*, when couched, projected eighteen feet in front of the soldier, and the space between the ranks was such that those of the second rank were fifteen, those of the third twelve, those of the fourth nine, those of the fifth six, and those of the sixth three feet in advance of the first line, so that the man at the head of the file was guarded on each side by the points of six spears. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was of sixteen ranks. The men who stood too far behind to use their *sarissas*, and who therefore kept them raised until they advanced to fill a vacant space, still added to the pressure of the mass. As the efficacy of the phalanx depended upon its compactness, and this again on the uniformity of its movements, the greatest care was taken to select the best soldiers for the foremost and hindmost ranks—the frames, as it were, of the engine. The bulk and core of the phalanx consisted of Macedonians; but it was composed in part of foreign troops. These were no doubt Greeks. But the northern Illyrians, Paeonians, Agrianians, and Thracians, who were skilled in the use of missiles, furnished bowmen, darts-men, and slingers; probably according to the proportion which the master of tactics deemed the most eligible, about half the number of the phalanx. To these was added another class of infantry, peculiar in some respects to

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the Macedonian army, though the invention belonged to Iphicrates. They were called Hypaspists, because, like the phalangites, they carried long shields but their spears were shorter, their swords longer, their armour lighter. They were thus prepared for more rapid movements, and did not so much depend on the nature of the ground. They formed a corps of about 6000 men. The cavalry was similarly distinguished into three classes by its arms, accoutrements, and mode of warfare. Its main strength consisted in 1500 Macedonian and as many Thessalian horse. But the rider and his horse were cased in armour, and his weapons seem to have corresponded with those of the heavy infantry. The light cavalry, chiefly used for skirmishing and pursuit, and in part armed with the *sarissa*, was drawn from the Thracians and Paeonians, and was about a third of the number of the heavy horse. A smaller body of Greek cavalry probably stood in nearly the same relation to the other two divisions as the Hypaspists to the heavy and light infantry. To the Hypaspists belonged the royal foot bodyguard, the Agema, or royal escort, and the Argyraspides, so called from the silver ornaments with which their long shields were enriched. But the precise relations in which these bodies stood to each other does not appear very distinctly from the descriptions of the ancients. The royal horse guard was composed of eight Macedonian squadrons, filled with the sons of the best families. The numbers of each are not ascertained, but they seem in all not much to have exceeded or fallen short of a thousand."

Before proceeding to an account of his invasion of India, it may be interesting to describe what manner of man was Alexander. Like most great men he was not above middle height, but he was muscular and well proportioned. Plutarch tells us that "he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face . . . the statues of Alexander that most resembled him were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist." At the battle of Arbela "he had a short coat of Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that a breast-plate of linen, strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet was of iron, but so well polished that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, could not be excelled for lightness or temper. But the belt, which he wore in all engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians as a mark of respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art on it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given."

Like all great generals he was not only a man of action, but a student, for Plutarch says that he "loved polite learning, and his natural thirst for knowledge made him a man of extensive reading." In this respect, as well as in others, he resembled Napoleon. His passage of the Granicus may well be compared with that of his modern prototype across the bridge of Arcole.

ALBXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA

He was fond of manly exercises, and was a good sportsman, and "constantly took the exercise of war or hunting and exposed himself to danger and fatigue."

I do not propose to deal here with Alexander's march across Asia to the frontier of India. Suffice it to say that Russia has advanced steadily and consolidated her power during a hundred years in a region across which the great Macedonian hurried in a short period of seven years, during which he conquered Persia, Asia Minor, and Egypt, and established his line of communications with Europe. It is needless to point out which conqueror, Alexander or Russia, established the most enduring line. In the year 327 B.C., Alexander found himself at Balkh in a position to undertake the conquest of India. The victories of the Granicus, Issus, and Arbela had spread the terror of his name throughout Asia, and Taxiles, king of the country from Kabul to the Jhelum River, the ancient Hydaspes, had hastened to make his submission. After halting for a time to found a new Alexandria where Charikar now stands to the north of Kabul, the conqueror advanced in the summer through the country north of the Kabul River, whilst a portion of his force under Hephaestion entered the Punjab by way of the Khyber Pass, accompanied by King Taxiles, with instructions to prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the Indus above the modern Attock.

No doubt strategical considerations induced the invader to take the more difficult route by Kafiristan and Swat instead of marching through a friendly country down the Khyber Pass. For by this means he was enabled to subdue the fierce tribes who lay on the flank of his main advance, and for this purpose he took with him both cavalry and mounted infantry, as well as infantry and a siege-train of catapults and battering-rams. Entering this rugged country, which was inhabited by the Aspasians, with a mobile force of cavalry and mounted infantry, in accordance with the most approved principles of modern tactics, and leaving his main body to follow, he attacked and captured the first town he came to, destroying such of the inhabitants as were unable to escape to the hills, and razed the place to the ground. The barbarians offered some resistance, and Alexander himself was slightly wounded by a dart in the shoulder.

He then marched on the city of the Aspasion chief, which was abandoned and burnt by its inhabitants, many of whom were slain before they could escape to the neighbouring fastnesses. Proceeding next to a town which has been identified with Nawagai in Bajour, he found that the Aspasians had evacuated it, and assembled their forces on high ground overlooking the plain. Ordering one of his lieutenants to fortify the city, and peopling it with such inhabitants as were willing to settle there, and with such of his soldiers as were unfit for active service,* he marched against the Aspasion army, defeated them, and followed up this victory by crossing the Panjkora River with the intention of subduing the tribes in that direction. These, fearing to meet him, took refuge within

* It has often been said that some of the inhabitants of North-West are of Greek or of Macedonian descent, which is very probable in view of this custom of Alexander's peopling cities with men discharged from his army.

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the walls of their cities, which they resolved to defend to the last.

The chief city of this country was Mazaga, which is supposed to have stood where a ruined site now exists some twenty-five miles from Nawagai. Against this city Alexander now advanced and, feigning to retreat, induced the enemy to attack him, whereupon he turned and defeated them with great slaughter, driving the remainder within the walls of their town. In this action he was slightly wounded by an arrow. Bringing up their battering train, the Macedonians breached the wall, but were repulsed by the valour and determination of the defenders. Next day a wooden tower, unmanned by archers, was pushed up to the wall, but the assailants were still unable to force their way in ; and they met with no better success in attempting to storm the place over a bridge, thrown from an engine over the breach, which broke beneath the weight of the attacking party.

The defenders had a force of 7,000 Indian mercenaries, who, being disheartened when their leader was killed on the fourth day of the siege, came to terms under which they were to take service with Alexander, and abandoned the city. But hearing that these Indians intended to desert to their homes during the night, the Macedonians surrounded them on a hill where they had encamped, and cut them to pieces. The city, thus denuded of a large portion of its garrison, was then taken by storm, as also were several other towns in this part of the country.

Meanwhile those of the inhabitants who had fled had taken refuge on the celebrated rock Aornos, which was reputed to be impregnable. Rising precipitously from the bank of Indus, which washes its rocky base, Aornos, now known as Mount Mahaban,* a spur of the Black Mountain, looks down on the Yusufzai plain, lying 6000 feet below. The summit of the mountain, which is clad with lofty pine trees, consists of a plateau some five miles in extent, and it was here that the barbarians had taken refuge. Having established his main force at a city in the vicinity, probably opposite to where Darband now stands on the other bank of the Indus, Alexander took a picked body of troops, including his archers, his best infantry, 200 cavalry of his body-guard, and a hundred equestrian archers (mounted infantry again !), and pitched his camp at the foot of Aornos. Whilst he was reconnoitring to discover a way by which to attack this stronghold, some inhabitants offered to show him a path by which the rock could be stormed and captured without much difficulty. With these guides he sent a lightly armed force under command of Ptolemy, with orders to establish themselves in an entrenched position on the summit of the mountain, and to signal to him when this had been accomplished. This done, and the signal being given by means of a torch, Alexander next morning moved forward with his whole army, but could make no progress owing to the difficult nature of the ground. Seeing this, the barbarians fiercely attacked Ptolemy's detachment, trying to destroy the palisades with which he had protected his

* For a discussion of the site of Aornos see 'Ancient India; its invasion by Alexander the Great,' by J. W. McCrindle, an admirable work containing translations of Arrian and other ancient historians, and illustrated by most valuable notes ; to which the present writer is greatly indebted.

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position, but they were beaten off by nightfall. That night Alexander succeeded in sending a message to Ptolemy, telling him that in the morning his detachment was to co-operate in attacking the enemy simultaneously from either side. Hard fighting ensued from daybreak to midday, when the two forces effected a junction, but further advance against the hostile position on the pinnacle of rock that crowned the summit was found to be impossible. Next day at dawn Alexander ordered each of his men to cut a hundred poles or stakes in the adjacent forest, which, being piled up from their entrenchment against the rock, formed a rampart from which their missiles could reach the enemy. Mounted on this rampart the slingers and archers repelled all the enemy's attacks on the working parties, who continued labouring for four days to join the artificial mound to a hill, of equal height with the main rock, which had in the mean time been occupied by some of the Macedonians. Terrified and astounded at the boldness of their enemies, the barbarians now entered into negotiations, designing to escape by night to their homes under cover of these parleys. But, divining their intention, Alexander climbed the rock with seven hundred men and put some to the sword and captured many, whilst a number threw themselves headlong from the precipices in the panic of their flight.

This enterprise accomplished, and a number of elephants that were in the neighbourhood having been captured, the invaders moved down the Indus to a bridge of boats which had already been constructed by Hephaestion for the passage of the river above Attock. The expedition had up to this point lasted about twelve months from the march from Bactria (Balkh). The bridge was constructed of boats with planks laid across them, and anchored by stones, and Alexander crossed it at daybreak and marched to Taxila, the capital of King Taxiles, a populous and wealthy city supposed to have been situated between Hassan Abdal and Rawal-Pindi, about twenty-five miles to the north-west of the latter place. Here he held a gymkhana or assault-at-arms, as was customary on such occasions, and, leaving a garrison and his invalid soldiers, he moved towards the Hydaspes (Jhelum), on the further bank of which Porus, the king of the country that lay beyond, had assembled a great army to oppose the passage. The invader, with his army reinforced by 5000 Indians under Taxiles, marched towards the Hydaspes under the cover of the hills known as the Salt Range, and encamped at Jalalpur, some thirty miles below the town of Jhelum. The boats from the Indus bridge had in the mean time been carried down to the Hydaspes and launched on that river. As it was now summer, the river was swollen with melted snow from the mountains where it takes its rise, and Alexander spread reports that he would remain encamped until the floods had passed away. He also moved his flotilla and detachments of his force up and down the river, making feints at crossing at different points, and obliging Porus to conform to these movements on the other bank of the stream.

Some seventeen miles to the north of Jalalpur, where the channel takes a mighty sweep, a lofty rock stood upon the river bank, and opposite to it a wooded islet breasted the flood. Alexander determined to make the passage at this point. Taking with him a portion of his force, both horse and foot, and leaving

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his main body in camp under Craterus with orders to cross over as soon as his attack was developed, he made a detour and reached the foot of the lofty rock unobserved. From there he crossed to the islet under cover of darkness, utilising for the passage not only boats, but rafts supported by skins stuffed with straw. In his orders to Craterus he said : " If Porus with one part of his army advances against me while he leaves the other part and the elephants in his camp, remain where you are ; but if he takes all his elephants against me, and leaves the remainder of his army in camp, then hasten to cross the river with all your force, as it is only the sight of the elephants that makes the passage dangerous for horses." Leaving the islet, the Macedonians made for the further bank, when they were perceived by the enemy's sentinels, who galloped off to camp with the information. A landing having been effected, Alexander found that he had arrived on a large island, and not on the mainland, which was separated from it by a channel through which the torrent, swollen by rain that had fallen in the night, ran deep and swift. With some difficulty a ford was discovered, the water coming breast high by which 5000 horse and 6000 foot crossed the stream, and were formed into line with their right flank resting on the river.

Porus, receiving information of the passage of the hostile force, despatched his son to oppose their landing with 2000 men and 120 chariots ; but Alexander, charging these with his cavalry, put them to flight with the loss of their leader and four hundred of their horsemen, and captured the chariots, which were unable to escape owing to the nature of the clay soil. The fugitives apprised Porus of the advance of the enemy's main army under Alexander, whereupon he decided to march against them, leaving in camp only a few elephants and a small force to hold Craterus in check and guard the camp. The army of Porus amounted to 4000 cavalry, 300 chariots, 100 elephants in addition to those left in camp, and 30,000 good infantry. These he disposed on ground suited to the movements of his cavalry, placing his elephants in the front line at intervals of 100 feet, where they might cover the infantry, who were posted behind them, and spread terror among the Macedonian horse. At the extremity of each wing were placed elephants bearing wooden towers containing armed men, whilst the cavalry, covered by the chariots in front, was drawn up on either flank.

Perceiving the array of hostile troops, Alexander halted to await the arrival of his infantry, and allowed them to rest while he rode round the ranks. He then advanced with the main body of his cavalry against the enemy's left, detaching a force to the right under Caenus to attack the hostile rear when opportunity offered. The infantry were ordered not to take part in the battle until the enemy had been thrown into confusion by the cavalry attack. Threatened thus in both front and rear by the Macedonian horse, the Indians were thrown into some confusion in endeavouring to face both ways, and their left wing, assailed by mounted archers and charged by Alexander at the head of his cavalry, took shelter in rear of the elephants, whose drivers urged their animals against the advancing horsemen. But the Macedonian phalanx now came up and attacked the elephants, which, charging the infantry, created great confusion, thus described by Arrian :

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"The Macedonian phalanx galled not only the beasts but their riders with their arrows ; a manner of fighting quite new to the Macedonians ; for whichever way the elephants turned, the ranks of foot, however firm, were forced to give way. The Indian horse, seeing now their infantry in the heat of the action, rallied again and attacked Alexander's cavalry a second time, but were again forced back with loss among the elephants. And now all Alexander's horse being formed into one mass made dreadful havoc among the Indians wherever they fell upon them. And the elephants being now pent up in a limited space, and violently engaged, did no less mischief to their own men than to the enemy, and as they moved about, multitudes were trampled to death ; besides, the cavalry being cooped up among the elephants, a tremendous slaughter ensued, for many of the drivers being slain by the bowmen, the elephants were no longer under control, but in their frenzy trampled under foot and killed friends and foes alike. But the Macedonians, having more space, gave way when the elephants advanced, following them up and attacking them when they retreated, until at length, trumpeting loudly, they passed out of the battle. Alexander, having surrounded all the hostile cavalry, made a signal for the infantry to close their shields together, and advance in a mass, so that nearly all the Indian horsemen were slain. Nor did their infantry fare much better ; for the Macedonians, pressing them on all sides, destroyed all who were unable to escape through the cavalry that surrounded them."

In the mean time Craterus crossed the river, and flinging his fresh troops upon the discomfited Indians, took up the pursuit and slaughtered great numbers. The Macedonian loss is variously estimated at from 300 to 1000, while the Indians are said to have had over 20,000 killed ; all their chariots were destroyed, and their surviving elephants were captured. This battle is a model of tactical skill, and it is interesting to note that it was fought on the ground where, two thousand years afterwards, our own army, less skilfully disposed than that of Alexander, met the Sikhs at Chilianwala, and

"Swords were crossed and bayonets fixed,
First where fought great Alexander."

Porus having surrendered, Alexander appointed him Governor of his own country with some territorial additions. It was in this battle that Alexander's famous horse Bucephalus was mortally wounded, and as a monument to his memory a city called Bucephala was built by the victor, probably where Jalalpur now stands.

Having rested his troops for a time, Alexander crossed the Akesines (Chenab) and Hydraotes (Ravi), marching probably as far as Amritzar, but occasionally turning aside to chastise the tribes in the neighbourhood. Arrived at this point he found it necessary to march against the Cathains, who had fortified a defensive position at their city, Sangaia, identified with Sangalawala Tiba, a place some fifty miles west of Lahore, through which city the Macedonian army in all probability passed. The Cathaians were drawn up on a low hill, behind a barricade of carts laagered in three rows. After some severe fighting they were driven from this laager, and took refuge in the city, which Alexander invested, surrounding it as far as he could with the

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numbers at his disposal, posting his cavalry round a deep lake which lay near the walls, and by degrees building a stockade to encircle the place completely, except at the gap where the lake lay. The enemy, endeavouring to break out by night at this point, were driven back with some slaughter, and eventually the Macedonians escaladed the wall, stormed and captured the place, and killed some thousands of the inhabitants, losing 100 killed and 1200 wounded during the siege. Sangala was razed to the ground, and Alexander, having recrossed the Ravi below Lahore, marched to the Hyphasis, now known as the Sutlej.

Arrian tells us that Alexander had heard that beyond the Hyphasis lay a rich country, the inhabitants of which were excellent agriculturists and soldiers, governed mildly and justly by their nobility, whilst they possessed elephants larger and in greater quantity than the people of other lands. Fired by the desire to conquer these countries and add the whole of Asia to his dominions, he wished to cross the Hyphasis and undertake the invasion of the territories that lay beyond. But this army, worn out by the lengthy and arduous campaign of many years, would go no further, and at a council of war, called by the Macedonian king, all his generals expressed a similar desire, and were of opinion that they had gone far enough.

He was, therefore, obliged to retrace his footsteps and marched back to the Hydaspes, where Hephaestion had in the mean time built the two cities Bucephala and Nikaea, of which no trace remains. Here a fleet was constructed for the passage down to the sea, the route by which Alexander had elected to go, and, having appointed Porus ruler of the subjugated nations, the Macedonian king embarked with a portion of his army, sending Craterus and Hephaestion in command of a division on either bank of the river, with orders to march against the capital of Sopithus, chief of the country between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) rivers.

The fleet was now ready for the adventurous river voyage to the great and unknown sea that lay beyond the delta of the Indus. There were eighty large galleys, each with two banks of thirty oars, crowded with men in armour; and transports for horses, supplies, and the spoils of war—in all two thousand sail under Admiral Nearchus. The army commenced to embark at daybreak towards the end of October, 326 B.C., and Alexander, having poured out libations to the gods and to the river from a golden bowl, gave the signal to start by sound of trumpet. And so the ships set sail down the Jhelum river two thousand years ago, amid the shouts of the rowers that resounded from the echoing banks as they attuned their voices to the rhythm of the oars. The din reverberated among the neighbouring ravines, mingling with the voice of many waters, the clash of arms, and the wild songs of the Indians who thronged upon the bank to witness the departure of the fleet, and accompanied it for a great distance. At the confluence with the Chenab, where they arrived on the fifth day, the voyage was rendered dangerous by rocks and whirlpools; several ships were wrecked, and the fleet had to anchor for a time for repairs, whilst Alexander made an incursion into the neighbouring country to subdue the barbarians. Nearchus, admiral of the fleet, in the mean time sailed, according to his orders, to the confines of the country of Malli, whose capital

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was the modern Multan, where he was rejoined by Alexander ; and where Hephaestion, Craterus, and Philippus, the satrap of the province west of the Indus, who had followed with his troops, had already assembled their forces. From this point Nearchus was directed to sail three days in advance of the army, which was divided into three portions. Hephaestion was sent five days in advance to intercept such of the enemy as might flee before Alexander's division, whilst Ptolemy was directed to follow three days in rear with another division to capture those who fled backwards. All were ordered to reassemble at the next confluence of rivers—that of the Akesines and Hadraotes (Chenab and Ravi).

Alexander then led his division against the Malli, whose country extended as far as the confluence of the Chenab and Indus. Marching in a south-easterly direction, the Macedonian conqueror crossed a waterless desert, and surprised the enemy at one of their cities on the right bank of the Ravi, said to have been where the small town of Kot-Kamalia now stands. These Malli were a brave people, and offered a desperate resistance, but their citadel was eventually stormed by Alexander at the head of his men, and its 2000 defenders were put to the sword. Several other strongholds were taken, including "a city of the Brahmins," which may have been the old ruined town and fort of Atara, thirty-four miles from Multan, which was stormed with the aid of escalading ladders, the Macedonian king, as usual, being foremost in the fray.

Hearing that the enemy had all fled to their capital, he marched on that place, defeating on the way an army 50,000 strong on the banks of the Ravi. Next day Multan was attacked, the city being soon taken and the defenders driven into the citadel. Alexander at once mounted a ladder, and, arrived on the wall, was assailed on every side by missiles ; thereupon, followed by three of his men, he leapt down among the enemy below, laying about him with his sword. These at first fled, but gathering courage when they saw him so lightly supported, they attacked him with swords and spears, wounding him through his armour, and one, standing farther off, drew his bow and pierced him with an arrow which entered his breast through his cuirass. The barbarian ran up to despatch him with his scimitar, but was killed by one of his men, and the Macedonians, having now succeeded in mounting the mud walls by means of pegs driven into them, broke in and slaughtered all the inhabitants, man, woman, and child. The King, who was supposed by his people to be dying, was borne off on a shield ; but he gradually recovered from his wounds, and continued the voyage to the Indus, having received the submission of the surviving Malli and other tribes.

Arrived at the confluence of the Chenab and Indus, Alexander awaited a detachment of his troops which had been employed in the subjugation of the tribes on the way. Here also he built dockyards, and founded a city on the site of the modern Mithankot, and having appointed satraps of the conquered territories, he subjugated several neighbouring tribes and cities, and then proceeded to Patala, at the apex of the Indus delta. The historians give little and vague information regarding this journey through Sind. The whole voyage from the start on the Hydaspes to the sea probably occupied eight or ten months, fixing the date of arrival at the mouth of the Indus at about July, 325 B.C. It appears that the Indus delta has altered

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considerably during the past two thousand years, so that from this point Alexander's voyage cannot be exactly followed on the modern map. Arrian relates that he sailed down the right arm of the river, which separated into two branches at Patala. The course of the fleet was followed by a force on shore, but no further opposition was met with, save from the elements, many of the ships being destroyed and most of them injured in a great gale that arose, whilst the crews of the damaged galleys managed to run their vessels ashore and escape with their lives. Indian pilots were then employed in steering the ships to the open sea. Arrived at the sea the Macedonians were astonished and alarmed at their first experience of the phenomenon of the tide—their knowledge being hitherto limited to the tideless Mediterranean,—which, receding, left their ships high and dry and floated them again on its return. Alexander then put out to sea to two islands that lay in the offing, and offered sacrifices to the gods for the safe voyage of his fleet up the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates and Tigris. Bulls were cast into the sea as an offering to the gods Ammon and Poseidon, as well as libations and the golden goblets in which they were contained.

Having paid another visit to Patala, Alexander sailed down the other branch of the Indus, and thence explored a portion of the coast, and constructed docks on a lake into which the river had widened in those days. All this time the fleet was being prepared for the voyage. The invasion was now at an end, and Alexander retired through Makran and Karman, encountering terrible hardships on the journey through the desert, following a line not far from the coast through Sonmiani, Pasni, and Gwardar, the fleet under Nearchus sailing along the coast of the Arabian Sea.

Some of the lessons of this and other invasions of India have already been indicated. Nor are the details of Alexander's expedition of interest only from an academic point of view. Both his strategy and his tactics are instructive even in our time. Here we find the first recorded use of mounted infantry, and its correct tactical employment ; the security of the line of march through Asia in rear and on the flanks provided for ; a model of tactical skill at the battle of the Hydaspes ; and a fine example of the combined operations of land and sea forces both in the river voyage and during the retirement to Persia.

The Macedonian invasion did not leave any permanent mark on the country. Such imprints as it made upon the sands of time have been swept away by succeeding waves of invasion and conquest, which have left no trace of Great Alexander save some submerged ruins and scattered coins, and possibly a few traits of Macedonian physiognomy among the people of the regions through which he marched more than two thousand years ago. The Empire that he founded and the cities that he built have passed away like the baseless fabric of a dream, as have succeeding Empires and more recent cities. India is full of the melancholy romance of fallen Empires, and Kingdoms, and cities—the futile dust of nations—evidence to the vanity of all human effort and attributes save that wisdom which teaches us to take advantage of the lessons of history. The ghosts of the past haunt the land in the dim twilight of the ages, witnesses to the vicissitude of all things, and types of the things to come. (Major R. G. Burton in *The United Service Magazine*.)

THE STUDY OF INDIAN INSTITUTIONS

[The text of this article formed the subject-matter of an address given by the author at the London School of Economics on October 4, introducing a set of lectures on Indian Institutions, dealing with Physical Conditions and Vital Phenomena, Economics, Social Structure, and Law and Administration.]

The student will find much useful and accurate information, presented in a compact and practical form, in the four volumes on the Empire of India now included in the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. These volumes are stiff reading, but they are admirably compiled, and contain, within a reasonably small compass, all the material facts. Appended to each chapter is a bibliography giving lists of the books in which further and more detailed information can be found. With these four volumes at his hand the student should be able to find his way to all or almost all the literature that he requires.

To those specially interested in the subject of Indian administration I recommend a study of the recent report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India, and I would advise the student to look, not only at the report, but at the volume of the evidence relating to any particular province of India in which he is specially interested. The report brings information up to a somewhat later date than the four volumes of the *Gazetteer*, and the evidence throws a flood of light on the problems and difficulties which those who are responsible for the administration of India have to consider, and on the mode in which these problems and difficulties are dealt with in practice.

Here then is what the student should read. The next question is, how he should read. And in dealing with this question I will draw my illustrations mainly from that branch of the subject with which I am more specially conversant, namely Law and Government. I will begin with saying that if the student wants not merely to learn the letter of a law but to understand its true, inner, vital meaning, which alone can be a guide to the way in which it has worked, is working and is likely to work, what Montesquieu and after him Ihering, call the spirit of the law, he must do three things. He must study it (1) historically, (2) comparatively and (3) at the first hand. If he wishes to know the true meaning of a law he must trace it to its sources, he must study its historical development ; it must be compared and contrasted with other laws which have come into existence at other times, in other countries, and under other conditions ; he must inquire how far resemblances are to be explained by affiliation, by imitation, conscious or unconscious, direct or indirect, or by similarity of conditions ; and to what causes—historical, racial, religious, climatic, political, social or economic—differences are due. Keep these questions always present to the mind. For it is on this historical and comparative method that is based the scientific study, not only of law, but of language, of religion, of all social and political institutions.

If the student desires to see how these methods can be profitably and fruitfully applied I would recommend to his attention the first two essays in Mr. Bryce's 'Studies in History and Jurisprudence.' The first of these essays compares and contrasts the Roman Empire and the British Empire in India, the second compares and contrasts the extension of Roman with the extension of English

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law throughout the world; and each of them brings to bear on its subject a range, variety and accuracy of knowledge, and an aptness and fertility of illustration, such as could only be supplied by, and are worthy of, a writer who stands in the first rank of living historians. I have myself traversed a small part of the ground which Mr. Bryce has covered in these essays, and in the course of this paper I shall sometimes be borrowing from Mr. Bryce and sometimes from myself.

Let me suppose then that the student wishes to know something about the law which is administered in British India, of what elements it is composed, how it is made and how it is administered. He will find a great deal of useful information on these subjects in the chapter of the Indian Empire volumes entitled "Legislation and Justice." It will tell him that the indigenous law of India is personal, and is divisible with reference to the two main classes of the population, Hindu and Mahomedan; that both systems of law, Hindu and Mahomedan, claim divine origin and are inextricably interwoven with religion, and that each exists in combination with a law based on custom. And he will find that this indigenous law has been very largely modified and to a great extent superseded by English law based on English principles. He will probably wish to know rather more than the concise statements of this chapter can tell him about the nature and sources of, and authority for, this indigenous law, the relations between the sacred or religious law and local or tribal customs, the reasons why parts of this indigenous law have survived under British rule and parts have not, the mode in which English law has been introduced into India, partly by the action of the courts and partly by direct enactment; what portions of the law have been codified or brought by the legislature into a systematic and authoritative shape and what have not; how English and Indian influences have acted and re-acted on each other in the development and moulding of law; and in what manner and with what degree of success the rules and principles of English law have adapted to Indian conditions. And he may be tempted to consider how similar problems have been dealt with at other times and in other countries, particularly in that great Roman Empire which Mr. Bryce has so aptly compared with the British Empire in India.

Some of these questions, particularly the questions relating to the sources of and authority for Hindu law, have from time to time greatly exercised the minds of those responsible for the administration of justice in India. When the English first came to India they came as traders. They settled in factories and established courts for the maintenance of order and settlement of disputes among themselves. These courts naturally administered English law. With the people outside the factories or presidency towns and with their laws, the English had no concern, except as traders. But as soon as the East India Company "stood forth as diwan" in Bengal and took over the revenue administration of that great province, their position became wholly different, for the administration of revenue meant the establishment of criminal and civil courts and the administration of law suitable to the needs and habits of the persons under the jurisdiction of those courts. Accordingly one of the first things Warren Hastings had to do when he came out as Governor of Bengal in 1772, was to lay down a plan for the administration of justice in the interior of Bengal.

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What laws did he find in force? In criminal cases the Mahomedan Government had established its own criminal law, to the exclusion of that of the Hindus. But in civil cases Mahomedans and Hindus respectively were governed by their personal laws, which claimed divine authority, and were enforced by a religious as well as a civil sanction. The object of the East India Company was to make as little alteration as possible in the existing state of things. Accordingly the country courts were required, in the administration of criminal justice, to be guided by Mahomedan law. In civil matters, as I have said, the law was not territorial but personal, and the state of things, though it is doubtful whether the parallel suggested itself to Warren Hastings and his contemporaries, was not unlike that which prevailed in Western Europe at the time of the decay of the Roman Empire, when you might find, side by side, men living according to Roman, Frankish or Burgundian law. The East India Company accepted this position, and Warren Hastings' plan of 1772 directed that, "in all suits regarding marriage, inheritance and caste and other religious laws and institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Gentus (Hindus) shall be invariably adhered to." Moulavies or Brahmins, that is to say persons trained in the Mahomedan or Hindu law, were directed to attend the Courts for the purpose of expounding the law and giving assistance in framing the decrees. Directions to the same effect as those embodied in Warren Hastings' plan found their way into the English Act of Parliament of 1781, one of the objects of which was to prevent the harsh application of English rules of law to natives of India, provision being made for a conflict of laws by a direction that when one only of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or a Hindu the case shall be determined by the laws and usages of the defendant. Similar provisions have since been embodied in several English and Indian enactments.*

But it was soon discovered that the simple directions in Warren Hastings' plan by no means sufficed to meet the requirements of the case.

In the first place there were portions of the Mahomedan criminal law which no civilised Government could administer. It was impossible to enforce the law of retaliation for murder, of stoning for sexual immorality, or of mutilation for theft, or to recognise the incapacity of unbelievers to give evidence in cases affecting Mahomedans. Hence a number of amending regulations, which patched up the Mahomedan law with provisions borrowed from or suggested by English law, and which with the Mahomedan law which they amended were eventually superseded by the Indian Penal Code, were based wholly on principles of English law. If you wish to realise the welter of confusion into which the law was brought by this mass of amending regulations you should look at the voluminous reports which preceded the passing of the Charter Act of 1833.

Next it was realised that the division into Hindus and Mahomedans is not exhaustive, as applied to natives of India. There are of course many natives of India, who are neither Hindus nor Mahomedans, such as the Portuguese and Armenian Christians, the Parsees, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Buddhists of Burma and

See my "Government of India," p. 327.

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elsewhere, and the Jews. The tendency of the courts and of the legislatures has been to apply to these classes the spirit of Warren Hastings' rule and to leave them in the enjoyment of their own family law, except so far as they have shown a disposition to place themselves under English law.

Then as to the Hindu law and those who were clearly under it. Great pains were taken to ascertain what this law was and where it was to be found. Sir William Jones translated the most famous of the sacred Hindu law books, the Manava-Dharma-Sastra* or Code of Manu, to which a fabulous antiquity was attributed, but which is now, I believe, supposed to have been written in its present form at some unascertained time between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D.; and Colebrooke and others translated other treatises to which authority was attached. But in course of time it was discovered that the sacred or semi-sacred text-books of the Brahmins were not such trustworthy guides as they had been supposed to be in the time of Warren Hastings; that they often represented not so much what was, or had ever been, the actual law as what certain Brahmin writers thought the law ought to be; and that local or personal usages played a much more important part both in Hindu and in Mahomedan law than had previously been attributed to them. Accordingly, if the student looks at the Bombay Regulation IV. of 1827, passed when Mountstuart Elphinstone was legislating for the territories then recently annexed to the Bombay Presidency, he will find some notable deviations from the Bengal model, particularly in the precedence given to local usage over the written Mahomedan or Hindu law. Section 26 of this Regulation, still in force in the Bombay Presidency, directs that—

The law to be observed in the trial of suits shall be Acts of Parliament and regulations of Government applicable to the case; in the absence of such Acts and regulations, the usage of the country in which the suit arose; if none such appears, the law of the defendant, and, in the absence of specific law and usage, justice, equity and good conscience alone.

The same principle has since been applied to the Punjab, which is pre-eminently the land of customary law, and where neither the sacred text-books of the Hindus nor those of the Mahomedans supply a safe guide to the usages actually observed. In this province the Punjab Laws Act, which is of much later date than the Bombay Regulation, expressly directs the courts to observe any custom applicable to the parties concerned which is not contrary to justice, equity, or good conscience, and has not been altered or abolished by law, or declared by competent authority to be void. An immense deal of trouble has been taken by Sir Lewis Tupper and others to ascertain and place on record what the Punjab customary law actually is, and a vast amount of interesting information has been collected as to local, tribal, and family customs.

In matters for which neither the authority of Hindu or Mahomedan text-books or advisers, nor the regulations or other enactments of the Government supplied sufficient guidance, the judges of the civil courts were usually directed, as by the Bombay Regula-

* 'Shaster, the Law Books or Sacred Writings of the Hindus.' From Sanskrit "Sastra," a rule, a religious code, a scientific treatise.

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tion just quoted, to act in accordance with "justice, equity, and good conscience." An Englishman would naturally interpret these words as meaning such rules and principles of English law as he happened to know and considered applicable to the case ; and thus, under the influence of English judges, native laws and usages were, without express legislation, largely supplemented, modified and superseded by English law. Since the time when Sir William Jones and Colebrooke began their studies of Hindu law, our knowledge of that law, of its sources, of its development, and of its relation to local and personal custom has been immensely advanced by the labours of lawyers like Mr. J. D. Mayne, of scholars like Buhler and Jolly, and of many other eminent men.* On Mahomedan law, as administered in British India, some useful books have been written, but I do not know of any book, at least in the English language, which has dealt quite satisfactorily, from the historical and comparative point of view, with the origin, growth and development of Mahomedan law.

A new era began with the passing of the Charter Act of 1833. That Act contained a section declaring that a general judicial system and a general body of law ought to be established in India applicable to all classes, Europeans as well as natives ; and that all laws and customs having legal force ought to be ascertained, consolidated and amended. The Act went on to provide for the appointment of a body of experts to be called the Indian Law Commission, which was to inquire into and report on the courts, the procedure and the law then existing in India. Of this Commission Macaulay, who was in 1833 appointed Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, was the moving spirit, and with the appointment of this Commission began the era of systematic, comprehensive legislation which culminated in the well-known Indian Codes. But the work of the Commission was not destined to bear fruit for a considerable time. The Penal Code, which was the first, and still remains the best, of the Indian Codes, though prepared by Macaulay, did not become law until 1860, long after its author had left India.

It received its final touches from Sir Barnes Peacock and other lawyers, but it was substantially Macaulay's work and it is a remarkable monument of the legal genius of a man, who though he was called to the Bar, was never, I believe, a practising lawyer, in the ordinary sense of the word. The Penal Code was followed in the next year by the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, which have frequently been revised and re-enacted. The last edition of the Code of Civil Procedure forms the most substantial part of the bulky volume of general Indian Acts for the year 1908. Then came the Indian Succession Act of 1865, the Contract and Evidence Acts of 1872, and a number of other codifying Acts, of which a pretty complete list will be found in the chapter of the *Imperial Gazetteer* on Legislation and Justice to which I have previously referred.

A vast amount of literature has been devoted to the subject of codification, in India and elsewhere, and the subject suggests a large number of interesting questions well worth the consideration of students. But these questions are endless, and I only mention

* Mr. Nelson's lively and combative criticisms on certain judgments of the Madras High Court are very good reading.

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a few of them, in order to indicate the ramifications to which a study of Indian law and Indian legislation may extend, and the attractive paths into which the student may be led. For the present I must content myself with pointing out that the net result of the great activity of the Indian Legislatures has been to substitute for a considerable body of indigenous law and customs, for much judge-made law embodied in judicial decisions, and for a great number of fragmentary and long-winded regulations, a body of state law which is fairly systematic and compact, and which is based mainly on English, not on Indian principles.

Of the indigenous law the part which has been least affected, though it has not been left wholly untouched, by legislation is that family law which was specially safeguarded by Warren Hastings' plan of 1772. Hindus and Mahomedans are still governed by their own laws and customs of marriage, inheritance and succession. Suggestions have from time to time been thrown out that an attempt should be made to codify by legislation the main rules on these subjects. But this branch of law is notoriously dangerous to meddle with.

There is another important branch of Indian law which, though it has been made the subject of much legislation, and has been largely thrown into statutory form, yet continues to be based on Indian rather than on English principles. I mean the law relating to the tenure and occupation of land, which is closely connected with the Indian revenue system. I observe that the author of the chapter on Land Revenue in the 'Gazetteer' describes the subject as utterly strange to most Englishmen, and says that a subject more remote from the interests of the average Englishman can hardly be conceived, and that in order to appreciate it in any way he must translate himself into entirely new surroundings. But it is just because the point of view and the conditions are so different that the history and principles of the Indian land revenue system, and the modes of holding and cultivating land which they presuppose, present a special fascination to the comparative student of institutions. Some students are probably familiar, all students ought to be familiar, with the brilliant lectures which Sir Henry Maine delivered, now nearly forty years ago, on Village Communities in the East and West.

Thanks to the labours and writings of such men as Maitland and Vinogradoff, to mention two names only among many, in the one continent, and of Mr. Baden Powell and many settlement officers in the other, we know much more now about the history and structure of the English village and manor and of the Indian village and estate, than was known at the time when Maine delivered his lectures, and he himself would have been the first to admit that several of his generalisations require important modification. This does not detract from their value in the history of thought and knowledge. Generalisations and speculations such as these are temporary halting-places in the advance to truth, useful vantage-grounds from which to survey the further path. Materials have now been collected of which great use could be made by any one gifted with a share of the historical insight of Maine and Maitland. The student who is familiar with the ground covered by Maitland's 'Domesday Book and Beyond' would find much that is instructive and suggestive in such a book

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as Baden Powell's 'Land Revenue in British India.' And conversely an experienced settlement officer might find instructive parallels and analogies in Maitland's book. He might be tempted to make a comparison between the record of rights carried out by William the Conqueror in 1086, and the revenue operations conducted in Bengal by Todar Mal, the Hindu minister of the great Emperor Akbar, in 1582, and possibly to discover likenesses between the position and duties of the Norman sheriff and those of the Anglo-Indian collector. But he would have to be cautious, always bearing in mind that historical analogies are apt to be misleading and that historical generalisations stand in constant need of verification and correction.

I have mentioned that the Indian revenue system is based on indigenous principles. Its history is shortly this. When the East India Company took over the administration of Bengal, they took also the revenue system, or rather the decayed and dilapidated remains of the revenue system, established by their predecessors, the Moghul emperors. And the same course, substantially, was adopted on the acquisition of other provinces.

The Moghul emperors represented, of course, an immigrant and conquering race, but the revenue system which they administered was not a foreign or imported system. They found it impossible to apply the strict theory of the Moslem law as to the taxation of conquered countries, and, therefore, in this branch of government they took over and reduced to a system the customary and unwritten usages of the previous Hindu administrations. In all essentials, as Mr. Baden Powell remarks, the Moghul revenue administration was simply the older plan in a newer form. Thus the British Government inherited the old Indian revenue system through their predecessors and Moghuls. Now what were the principles of this old Indian system? The fundamental principle is that the ruler, the king, is entitled to a share of the produce of the land. "It is an historical fact," says Mr. Baden Powell, "that from very ancient times, long before the Moghul empire, the kings or Rajas and other lesser chiefs were accustomed to take from the cultivators of the soil in their dominions or chiefships, a certain share of the produce of every cultivated acre, unless, as a special favour, that share was remitted."

Originally it was a share of the grain heap, as made up on the threshing-floor, but there was always a tendency, as in the case of rent and revenue elsewhere, to convert payment in kind into payment in cash. About the proper amount of the share there was much dispute. There was a vague traditional notion, for which some countenance is to be found in the ancient code of Manu, that it ought to be a sixth. In practice rulers and their subordinate agents would be inclined to take as much as they could, and far more than, in the interests of good government, they should.* But whether the principle was reasonably applied or was abused, however it was interpreted, on whatever foundation, whether that of ultimate ownership of the soil or any other, it was based, the validity of the principle itself, that the ruler is entitled to a share of the soil, or to its equivalent in cash—the validity of this principle has always,

* You will find figures showing the shares actually taken at different times and by different rulers in the Land Revenue chapter of the 'Imperial Gazetteer.'

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I think, been admitted in India. And thus we have the curious fact that a principle of taxation which, if it were enunciated by an English Chancellor of the Exchequer, would, I fear, expose him to very hard language, is the fundamental principle of Indian taxation, for of that taxation land revenue has always been the mainstay.

The great merit of the best Mahomedan rulers, and particularly of Akbar, was that they systematised to some extent the irregular, uncertain and arbitrary methods of their predecessors, that they recognised the necessity for measuring the land, for estimating and assessing the amount or value of the produce of each piece of land, for fixing the State share of that produce or value, and for determining the period of time during which the assessment was to remain in force. And thus they laid the foundations of those settlement operations which form the most arduous task of British revenue officers and their assistants, and which successive generations of those officers are endeavouring to improve by making them more fair and equitable, less expensive to the State, and less onerous to the revenue payer. For the purpose of these settlements it has been found necessary, in almost every part of British India, to establish and maintain an elaborate cadastral record, showing the existing title to and incumbrances on each parcel of the soil, and on this record there is being gradually built up in India a very extensive and complete system of registration of title by public entry, so that, out of the fiscal necessities of the Government, there has been developed the nucleus of a system of public transfer of land, which, as Sir Henry Maine once said, "is now the system of the whole civilised world, except England and the countries under the influence of English jurisprudence."

And now as to study at first hand. By this I mean that where documents such as laws or regulations are concerned the student should study the documents themselves and not be content with such account of them as is to be found in manuals. But I mean a good deal more than this. I mean that the student should not confine his studies to books, not even to Blue Books, but should study also what may be called the human side of laws and institutions, the mode in which they actually work and affect the conditions of human life, and that can only be learnt by careful observation and by converse with those who have to put laws into operation and upon whom laws operate.

Students destined for official life in India will often find the routine work of their office laborious and exhausting, and much of their time will be necessarily taken up by the compiling of reports and the preparation of returns. But I hope they will take to heart the wise words spoken by Lord Morley last June to young men intending to become Indian civilians, and will bear in mind that they should lose no opportunity of making themselves personally acquainted with the people of the country in which they are to serve, of talking to them in their own language, of trying in every possible way to discover their opinions, their grievances, their points of view, and should always thus endeavour, so far as in them lies, to make the work of administration as little wooden and mechanical, as much elastic and human, as is possible. And, conversely, I would urge the Indian student who has come over here to try and find out all he can about the actual working of English laws and institutions, about English habits and modes of

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thought, about vital and social conditions in this country, and that he should do so by attending, as far as he can, judicial proceedings and meetings of local governing bodies, by asking questions, and by using his eyes and ears in every possible way.

England and India have much to learn about each other, and the more thoroughly they know each other the more they will respect and appreciate each other. We are sometimes tempted here to take a pessimistic view of Indian problems, and to fear that they are too difficult to be soluble by human ingenuity or human energy. Perhaps the best corrective of that frame of mind is to take an historical survey, such as I have suggested, of Indian institutions, and to consider what has been done in the past as an encouragement for what can be done in the future. I was reading again the other day what I have always considered to be one of the most delightful and instructive books that has ever been written about India, Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official,' and I should like to quote a passage from the chapter entitled "Bhumiawat," a term which, in Bundelkhand, signifies, or in Sleeman's time signified, a war or fight for landed inheritance.

When a member of the landed aristocracy, no matter how small, has a dispute with his ruler, he collects his followers and levies indiscriminate war upon his territories, plundering and burning his towns and villages, and murdering their inhabitants till he is invited back upon his own terms. During this war it is a point of honour not to allow a single acre of land to be tilled upon the estate which he has deserted, or from which he has been driven; and he will murder any man who attempts to drive a plough in it, together with all his family, if he can. The smallest member of this landed aristocracy of the Hindoo military class will often cause a terrible devastation during the interval that he is engaged in his bhumiawat; for there are always vast numbers of loose characters floating upon the surface of Indian society, ready to "gird up their loins" and use their sharp swords in the service of marauders of this kind, when they cannot get employment in that of the constituted authorities of government."

Now this passage was written during or soon after a tour taken in 1836, not much more than the "sixty years ago" described by Sir Walter Scott when he wrote Waverley, at a time which might be within the memory of some old people still living. It describes a state of things which has been aptly compared by Mr. Bryce to that which was to be found in some parts of the British Islands in the eighteenth century, when Rob Roy raided the farmers of Lennox, and landlords in Connaught fought pitched battles with one another at the head of their retainers. Is there any part of India where such a state of things would be possible in the present day?

The Government of India has done magnificent work in restoring and maintaining order and security throughout the whole of its vast dominions. During the last half century it has undertaken with great activity not merely the negative functions of preventing disorder which every Government must perform, but the positive functions which were expected of a modern State, such functions as the promotion of education, sanitation, irrigation, improvement of communications, improvement of agriculture, and, in general, the development of the intellectual, moral and physical resources of the country. And in doing so it has been conducting experiments which, from the student's point of view, deserve the most careful examination and comparison with the legislative and executive action of other States, and from the statesman's point of view

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involve the exercise, to an exceptional degree, of a combination of courage and caution.

Some of those experiments have failed to realise the expectations on which they were based. What human experiments do not ? The Government of India has been criticised ; a life the actions of which are not submitted to scrutiny, is not worth living. May we not say that a Government which cannot stand criticism is not worth having ? But the Government of India can stand criticism. If its record is surveyed as a whole by a competent and impartial critic, the conclusion to which he will come is that it is the most successful experiment in the art of government that the world has ever seen. (Sir Courtenay Ilbert in the *Empire Review*.)

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

. THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[*The Indian National Congress, containing an Account of its Origin and Growth, Full Text of all the Presidential Addresses, Reprint of all the Congress Resolutions, &c.* Published by Messrs G. A. NATESAN & Co., Madras. Rs. 3.]

Though it is not possible at the present day to pass any unbiased judgment on the origin, development and usefulness of the Indian National Congress, it may almost be definitely predicted that the future historian of India will have no great difficulty to give his verdict on the part played by this organisation in the development of an Indian Nationality. The Congress has already filled a large page of contemporary history, and, irrespective of any consideration for the future historian, the time has come when the principal events of this movement may be placed on record.

Like the seven cities of Greece putting forward their claim as the birth-place of Homer, there are almost as many movements which claim the Indian National Congress as their direct offspring. It may be, as no doubt it is, that various activities have directly and indirectly contributed to the forces which have brought into being an organization like the Indian National Congress. The spirit of social advance so vigorously pushed forward by men like Keshab-chandra Sen and Dayanand Saraswati, the great theosophical movement inaugurated by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, the stimulating influence of Lord Ripon's liberal administration, the facilities for free exchange of ideas among peoples of the different provinces and for inter-provincial co-operation afforded by the railway lines and the telegraph wires, the activities of a free Press and Platform and the propagandist work of the Indian Association of Calcutta, had, to a great extent, given a strong impetus to an all-Indian movement ; but there can be no manner of doubt that the institution under notice owes its direct origin to the spread of a common language, the establishment of a common rule, the obedience to common laws, and, above all, to the sufferings under common grievances. That is the genesis of the Indian National Congress, and no other forces,—either social, moral or religious,—could have brought into focus such diverse forces of Indian life as are represented in this institution.

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Several years ago, in an introduction written to a publication entitled *Indian Politics*, the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee traced the direct origin of the Congress to a suggestion of the late Lord Dufferin. Lord Dufferin, however, was anxious to give the movement a social turn, but Mr. Hume, who is known as the father of the Congress, and the late Messrs W. C. Bonnerjee and Monmohan Ghose and Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter decided otherwise and organised in consultation with the leaders of the Western Presidency its first session in the city of Bombay in 1885. Without going much behind the scenes and without discussing the causes which made such a national organisation possible, we may take it that the promethean spark which gave life to the first Indian National Movement was no doubt communicated by Lord Dufferin.

On the face of things, Lord Dufferin could not countenance such a movement for any length of time and naturally fell out with the leaders of the Congress before even its third session had closed at Madras. It is worth mentioning that, in spite of his sudden change of front, Lord Dufferin was the only Indian Viceroy who recognised the Congress officially and openly by giving some of its more prominent delegates a garden party in 1886. But most unfortunately, before Lord Dufferin left the shores of India, he had encouraged some of the provincial satraps to fall foul of the promoters of the movement and to give it the character of a seditious organization. In his famous parting shot at the St. Andrew's Dinner of 1888, Lord Dufferin came out openly to abuse the Congress and sneered at it as an organization of a 'microscopic minority.' We must, however, do Lord Dufferin's memory the justice of stating that he did the Congress a great honour by accepting, in an official despatch written by him, a great portion of its suggestions regarding the expansion of the Legislative Councils and recommending for recognition for the first time in the history of British rule in India the principle of popular representation.

Since Lord Dufferin left India, the Congress and Congressmen came in for a good measure of abuse and a volley of fire from many truculent writers in the English and the Anglo-Indian Press. *The Saturday Review* in the early days of the Congress described its delegates as the "cheeky, self-complacent and half-educated Babus," and on quite another occasion called them "foolish bletherons." *The National Observer* went so far as to say: "Now, your babu is not a gentleman, nor a man but a hound." Early in 1889, Sir Edward Watkin informed a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette*

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in the course of an interview that the agitation of the Congress was carried on by the aid of Russian gold. In a speech delivered at Northampton on May 11, 1890, the late Mr. Goschen was reported to have said that Indian Congressmen had put themselves into communication with officers of the Irish-American League. In India also, the hostility against the Congress was carried on with considerable bitterness by the publication of an anti-Congress pamphlet, believed to be written by a certain Lieutenant-Governor for a Talukdar of Oudh. Poor Theodore Beck kept constantly harking against everything connected with the Congress for an unconscionable time. On the other hand, the three wise men of Benares, Bhinga and Aligarh, in season and out of season, treated the Congress to no end of gyves and jeers and flouts. At this time, the late Sir William Hunter and the late Sir Richard Garth boldly came out to champion the cause of the Congress and gave all its hostile critics, both in India and in England, such a quietus that for a long time the enemies of this organisation did not rear their heads in very shame. The Congress thus survived through the friendly intercession of Hunter and Garth the combined denunciations by Oday Pertap Sing, Raja Siva Prosad, and Sir Syed Ahmed of Aligarh.

That was the first chapter of opposition in the history of the Indian National Congress. Fortunately in 1890, Lord Lansdowne recognised the Congress movement 'as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion which exists side by side with it.' That was a happy pronouncement, for it frankly recognised the Congress as, in fact what it is, a legitimate movement. No further active opposition was offered to the Congress during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty and that of his successor, and the Congress, in consequence, maintained a humdrum existence for a pretty long time. It turned again a new leaf with the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon tried his best officially and by his private influence to throw a douche of cold water upon the Congress and its propaganda and did his level best to attack all the principal planks of the Congress platform. How far he succeeded in his attempts, history alone can return an impartial verdict ; but no student of Indian politics will ever deny the fact that he gave the Congress a new life and opportunities for renewed activity which it has utilised for its own healthy growth as well as for the general progress of the country.

That is one side of the history of the Indian National Congress. There is another side worth discussing—its internal development.

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Though the Congress was ushered into being in 1885 it did not show much sign of a vigorous development till that great English man, Charles Bradlaugh, came all the way from England to India and joined the Congress of Bombay in 1889. That was a great and inspiring personality—Charles Bradlaugh's ; and no man before or after him had done so much to elevate the Congress into a position of dignity and honour as he. Lord Cross's Indian Councils Act may not have been framed according to Charles Bradlaugh's wishes, but no student of English Parliamentary life can ever question the deep debt of obligation which Lord Cross owed to the suggestions recorded by Bradlaugh in that connection. The next stage of its growth is marked by the enthusiastic demonstrations held in honour of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in every important station in his way to Lahore in 1893. Mr. Naoroji, after being dubbed a "black man" by the then Lord Salisbury, had just succeeded in entering St. Stephen's. We happened to be travelling in the same train with Mr. Naoroji and shall never forget the enthusiasm with which this first Indian member of Parliament was greeted by his admiring countrymen all the way from Allahabad to Lahore. That was a sight both for gods and men to see. The chilly morning of December in which Mr. Naoroji entered Lahore at the end of his triumphant progress found full fifty thousand Indians shivering in cold to catch a glimpse of the great Indian hero. That was a compliment paid to Mr. Naoroji directly, but indirectly to the Indian National Congress. Perhaps that also was the first time in the history of the Congress that popular enthusiasm, in the truest sense, was enlisted on its behalf. The next stage of development was reached at the Congress held at Amraoti in 1897 and in Madras in 1898, when Mr. C. Sankran Nair and the late Mr. A. M. Bose inveighed in emphatic terms against the backward and the repressive policy of the Government of India. In denouncing the deportation of the Natu brothers and the prosecution of Mr. Tilak, Messrs. Sankaran Nair and Ananda Mohan Bose gave expression to the deep feeling of resentment which was lying scattered in all parts of India against the use, by a modern Administration, of the barbarous Regulation of 1818 and against the panic which overtook Lord Elgin's Administration and engendered a general policy of repression and reaction.

Its last stage of development commenced from the Ahmedabad session of 1902 over which Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea presided and culminated with the Calcutta Congress of 1906, which was presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In this stage the Congress has been under the painful necessity of condemning out-

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right the entire policy of the Government of India in relation to Indian administration and directing its energies to a policy of self-help. Many of the principal events of this stage of development of the Congress are still matters for controversial politics, and no comments made upon them today can altogether be free from prejudice or bias.

In the resolutions adopted by the Congress since its inauguration and which have been carefully collected in this book by Mr. Natesan, we find the widest range of subjects dealt with by this body. From the state regulation of vice, the grievances of third-class railway passengers and the question of *begar* and *rasad* (forced labour and supplies), down to thanking Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's electors at Central Finsbury and a few gentlemen in Calcutta who lent the use of their houses to the delegates of the sixth Congress and the late Maharajah of Durbhangha who placed the Lowther Castle at the disposal of the Reception Committee for holding the eighth Congress at Allahabad, the Congress has left no question of any importance unconsidered at its meetings. It would take up several pages of the *Indian World* even were we to give the various heads of the resolutions adopted at the various Congresses from 1885 to 1908. Of these subjects, the expansion of the Legislative Councils, simultaneous Civil Service Examination in India and England, abolition of the India Council, trial by Jury, higher, primary and technical education, separation of the judicial and the executive functions, the land revenue policy, the currency question, the closure of the Indian Mints, the Assam Labour question, the grievances of Indians in South Africa, police reform, famine and indebtedness of the peasantry, military expenditure, forest laws, salt-tax, excise duty on the Indian cottons and the Abkari administration are worth mentioning. In this connection it is worth noticing that the tendency of the resolutions adopted at the earlier Congresses was to go more into details of every question than into the principles involved therein. The second Congress at Calcutta and the fifth Congress at Bombay even went the length of putting forward a cut-and-dry scheme with several detailed suggestions for the reform of the Legislative Councils. The resolutions adopted at the 7th Congress held at Nagpur on the increasing poverty of our people and in the following Congress at Allahabad on the Public Service Commission and the Résolutions passed at the eighteenth and the nineteenth Congress on the Universities Commission and the Universities Bill cover whole pages of Mr. Natesan's work. It is noticeable that the tendency during the

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last few years has been towards curbing the prolixity of the resolutions and confining them to mere enunciation of principles. The resolutions adopted by latter-day Congresses on the Partition of Bengal, on the Boycott and Swadesi movement, and on the separation of the judicial and executive functions are short and straight and are not burdened with unnecessary details. There is another matter which has to be noted in this connection. While the earlier Congresses dabbled in all manner of subjects, the latter Congresses have only taken up such questions which are only within the range of practical politics. With that view of the subject, the latter Congresses have excluded such questions from their consideration as the admission of Indians to Volunteering, the organisation of a system of militia, the repeal of the India Council, the reduction of the Home Charges and military expenditure, the deposition of Indian Chiefs, the gagging of the Press in the Native States, the frontier question and the withdrawal of the Arms Act. So, with the attainment of majority, the Congress has ceased to cry for the moon. Another remarkable feature about the latter-day Congresses is the reduction of the number of subjects taken up by any particular session of the Congress. While the first Congress of Bombay took up only nine subjects, the tenth Congress at Madras and the 14th Congress held in the same city considered so many as twenty-seven. All this tended towards dissipation of energy and made the close consideration of any particular question almost impossible. We hope we are not far from the day when the Congress will take up no more than half a dozen of questions only at each particular session and to them devote its best attention and consideration.

We are afraid we have not yet done with our subject, for the Congress is not concerned with the presidential addresses and the drafting of resolutions alone. The speeches delivered by the movers, seconders and supporters of every resolution placed before the Congress make up a voluminous literature and constitute one of the most essential features of the propaganda ; but unhappily this literature is so jejune and insipid and so generally wanting in breadth of view and force of logic that it is difficult to get much political insight, knowledge and even information out of it. It is not the fault so much of the speakers as of the system under which they speak. So long as the present system of haphazard selection of speakers continue, and students of special subjects are not invited to prepare papers sometime before the Congress is held, we cannot expect a better class of literature, informing as well as

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illuminating, on the subjects taken up by the Congress. If ever there was a time when people cared for rhetoric and oratory more than facts, that time is no more. The age of oratorical fireworks and vehement declamation has happily passed away. The twentieth century is intensely a practical age and people care more for the eloquence of facts, for close and well-reasoned arguments, for careful consideration of both sides of questions and for the results of experience and observations than for rounded phrases and long-drawn metaphors.

The Congress has up to now held twenty-four sessions over four of which Englishmen have presided, over two Mahomedans, over five Parsis, and over the rest Hindus. Among Hindus, the number of Brahmin and non-Brahmin presidents is nearly equally divided, thus giving the lie to the statement that the Congress is principally controlled by the Brahmins. At the end of the Congress of 1894 which was presided over by Mr. Alfred Webb, M. P., it was generally felt that the experiment of getting Englishmen to preside over the Congress had not succeeded so well, and, though Sir Henry Cotton was asked to preside over the Congress in 1904, the practice appears to have been practically abandoned. On the other hand, it is very unfortunate that no Mahomedan gentleman has been found to preside over the Congress since 1896. That almost gives the Congress the character of a Hindu organization, though it is far from being so.

Now we come to another phase of the history of the Congress. For the first two years, the Congress went without any constitution and did not realize its necessity either. In Madras in 1887, a committee was appointed to frame some rules in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, but the rules framed by the Committee did never come into force, principally owing to the critical attitude taken up by Mr. A. O. Hume. The question was again raised at Madras in 1894 and at Poona in 1895, but with no better result. The question since then came up before every other Congress and was successfully shelved till 1907, principally through the autocratic intervention of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The *debacle* at Surat, however, left no option to the well-wishers of the Congress but to set their heart earnestly upon the subject. The result of this earnest endeavour has been the Constitution framed by the Convention Committee at Allahabad under which the first Congress met at Madras last year under the presidency of Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh. It appears that though the 'creed' insisted by the Convention at Surat was replaced by the words 'aims and objects of the Congress',

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a large section of the Nationalist party in India consider themselves precluded from attending the Congress by the Constitution above referred to. Besides this sentimental grievance, there are really many glaring defects of a practical kind which are likely to detract from the usefulness of the Congress if they are persisted in for any length of time. The dropping of all questions, however important they may be from the national standpoint, at the desire or dictation of any special community is an instance in point. But with all that, we are not concerned here.

The Congress has so exclusively been a 'talking shop' that it has not even cared to give effect to its own Resolutions. The Resolution passed at the sixth Congress in Calcutta in 1890 and reaffirmed in 1891 and 1892 about holding a Congress in London still remains as far from realisation as ever. Of the many deputations that were to have gone out to England to acquaint John Bull with Indian affairs only three succeeded in reaching that country. In two Congresses, it was resolved to send deputations to the Viceroy with special representations and these also fell through. Nothing also came out of the Resolution carried at the Lucknow Congress of 1899 for the appointment of an agency in England for the organisation of public meetings all over the United Kingdom. In India nothing has hitherto been done to make the Congress a living, all-the-year-round organisation, and it has therefore laid itself open to the criticism of being a holiday show. The only body connected with the Congress that has done some organising work is its British Committee and between them and the Indian Parliamentary Committee they have succeeded in bringing many important questions to the front in and out of Parliament.

The history of the Congress is crowded with important events. Among its main and most memorable incidents may be mentioned the following :—(a) the collection of over Rs. 30,000 in about an hour's time consequent to an appeal made for funds by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in the Bombay Congress in 1889 ; (b) the withdrawal of a small band of delegates from the Congress at Madras in 1894 owing to its connection with Mr. Norton who had figured shortly before as a co-respondent in a divorce case, (c) the reception of Mr. Tilak in the Congress of 1898 after his release, (d) the concluding address of Mr. A. M. Bose in 1898 at Madras which moved the whole house to tears, (e) the refusal of Lord Curzon to receive Sir Henry Cotton as the spokesman of the Congress in 1905, (f) the row in the Subjects Committee at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 and (g) the 'beargarden scenes' at Surat in 1907.

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The Congress from the very beginning has been blessed with the services of a very energetic and devoted band of workers both in England and India. Among those who have passed away from this world, we may mention the names of Charles Bradlaugh, W. S. Caine, William Digby, A. M. Bose, W. C. Bonnerjee, Kali-churn Bannerji, Pandit Ayodhia Nath and Baksi Jaishi Ram.

Some general informations regarding the various sessions held up to date will be found in the table on the next page.

We now come to the last topic which we intend to touch in reviewing Mr. Natesan's work. He has brought together in this volume, and that constitutes the principal feature of the work, all the addresses hitherto delivered from the presidential chair of the Congress. As part and parcel of the literature of the Congress, each of them has its value ; but the speeches that will survive as some of the best contributions to Indian polemics of the current age are those that were delivered by Mr. George Yule at Allahabad in 1888, by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea at Poona in 1895, by Mr. C. Sankaran Nair at Amraoti in 1897, by Mr. A. M. Bose at Madras in 1898, by Mr. G. K. Gokhale at Benares in 1905, and the undelivered speech of Dr. Rash Behary Ghose prepared for the Surat Congress of 1907. All these are memorable utterances and will live for a long time in Indian political literature. The convincing and close arguments of Mr. George Yule, the eloquent insistence for the principles of popular and responsible government made by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the fearless exposure of wrong by Mr. C. Sankaran Nair, the pathos and moral fervour pervading Mr. A. M. Bose's indictment of the 'backward' policy of the Government of India, the clear formulation of our aims, aspirations and immediate demands by Mr. Gokhale and last, though not the least, the piercing criticism of Dr. Rash Behary Ghose would make a glorious and honourable record in the history of any institution in the world.

A Table of Informations about the Various Sessions of the Congress.

Session	Year	Place of Meeting	President	Number of Delegates.
1	1885	Bombay	Mr. W. C. Bonnerji	72
2	1886	Calcutta	The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	436
3	1887	Madras	Mr. Budruddin Tyabji.	607
4	1888	Allahabad	George Yule, Esquire	1,248
5	1889	Bombay	Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.	1,889
6	1890	Calcutta	The Hon. Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta	677
7	1891	Nagpur	" Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu	812
8	1892	Allahabad	Mr. W. C. Bonnerji	625
9	1893	Lahore	The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P.	867
10	1894	Madras	Mr. Alfred Webb, M. P.	1,163
11	1895	Poona	" Surendra Nath Banerjea	1,584
12	1896	Calcutta	Hon. Rahimatulla M. Sayani	784
13	1897	Amritati	Mr. C. Sankaran Nair	692
14	1898	Madras	" A. M. Bose	614
15	1899	Lucknow	" R. C. Dutt	739
16	1900	Lahore	" N. G. Chandravarkar	567
17	1901	Calcutta	" D. E. Wacha	896
18	1902	Ahmedabad	" Surendra Narh Banerjea	471
19	1903	Madras	" Lalmohun Ghose	538
20	1904	Bombay	Sir Henry Cotton	1,010
21	1905	Benares	The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.	756
22	1906	Calcutta	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	1,663
23	1907	Surat	Hon. Dr. Rash Vehari Ghose, C.I.E.	1,200
24	1908	Madras	"	617
25	1909	Lahore	Hon. " Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya	....

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

- ATKINSON, F. G.**—Rupee Prices in India, 1870-1908
(With an Examination of the Causes Leading to the
Present High Level of Prices. Reprinted from the
Journal of the Royal Statistical Society.)
- BLUNT, W. S.**—India Under Ripon (A Private Diary.
Fisher Unwin, 10 s.)
- MORLEY, VISCOUNT**.—Indian Speeches, 1907-09. (Mac-
millan & Co. 2/6d.)
- MITRA, S. M.**—Hindupore (An Anglo-Indian Romance.
Luzac & Co., London. 2/-).
- LING, C. F.**—Dawn in Toda Land (Morgan & Scott,
London.)
- LEES SMITH, PROF. H. B.**—Studies in Indian Economics
(A Reprint of Lectures delivered last year in Bombay.
Constable & Co., London.)
- NATESAN, G. A.**—The Indian National Congress (Con-
taining the Presidential Addresses and Resolutions of
the various Sessions of the Congress held up to date
with Introduction, Appendix and Portraits of all
Leading Congressmen in India and England. G. A.
Natesan, & Co., Madras. 3/.)
- The Chronological Tables of the Indian Statutes (published
by the Superintendent of Government Printing, 4/)
- GHOSH, SARATH KUMAR**.—The Prince of Destiny
(A Novel dealing with the Indian Unrest. Reban, 6s.)
- COTES, MRS. EVERED**.—The Burnt Offering (A Novel
Dealing with the Indian Unrest. Methuen & Co.)
- CLARKE, VIOLET**.—Leaves (A Book of Stories and
Sketches, with a Preface by Sir Sydenham Clarke,
the Governor of Bombay and father of the authoress.
Heinemann.)
- GUNN, LIEUT.-COL. W. D.**—Cattle of Southern India
(Published by the Department of Agriculture, Mad-
ras. 3s.)
- HUNTER, W.** } Peaks and Glaciers of Nun Kun (A
WORKMAN, F. B. } Record of Pioneer Exploration and Mountaineering
in the Punjab Himalayas, with Map and 92 Illustra-
tions. 15 21.)

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BARODA.

The December number of the *Hindusthan Review* opens with an article of melancholy interest on the above heading contributed by the late lamented Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt. Mr. Dutt began this paper with a contrast between the development of self-government in the West and in the East and set forth the result thereof in the following statement :

"Among the Greeks and the Romans, towns and cities were the nurseries of popular power and popular institutions. As the Roman Empire extended its limits, self-government spread from Rome to the empire. In the Middle Ages it was still the inhabitants of towns who strove to curb lawless barons, when the country population were little better than slaves. And in modern times, after feudal power had been replaced by the power of kings, citizens of great commercial and manufacturing centres took the largest share in restricting royal power, and building up constitutional forms of government.

"In India, with her few large commercial towns and her vast agricultural population, self-government was developed in villages. The people left their kings absolute power to rule or misrule the empire, and the kings left the people a free hand in their villages. No central constitutional government was organised ; but each village republic had its own constitution and ruled itself.

"The result of this is manifest in the history of the West and the East. The nations of Western Europe had more of national unity and national life than the people of India ; but the agricultural population of India enjoyed more civic rights, more control over their village concerns, than the villagers of Europe. In many places on the Continent of Europe, even in France and Prussia, the tillers of the soil were little better than serfs down to the eighteenth century."

But with the introduction of British rule in India, thought Mr. Dutt,

"European forms of administration necessarily replaced the Indian. The Central Government was strengthened and Village Government declined. Administration became more centralized ; and the people, who had lost their share in village administration, came naturally to demand a share in those centres where the

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administrative functions had been shifted. It is for this reason that the new Councils Act has been gratefully accepted by the people of India."

Mr. R. C. Dutt was evidently of opinion that the village communities should be kept 'alive and active.' He thought it a mistake to carry the experiment of rural self-government in selected villages only for "if they succeed, they will not prove the general fitness of other villages ; if they fail they will not prove general unfitness." Mr. Dutt wanted "to sow the seeds broad-cast over the soil which has proved its richness and fitness from remote ages" and suggested the following lines on which these Village Boards ought to be founded and conducted :

"I would give small civil and criminal powers to Village Boards, the latter up to a fine of five or ten rupees. No lawyers should appear in Village Courts. Parties should bring their own witnesses, and no processes should issue. No records should be kept except a Register showing the names of the parties, the nature of the case, and the order. There should be no appeal, but the Sub-District Officer should have powers of revision in cases of grave injustice.

"I would place primary schools under these Village Boards, subject to some general rules laid down by the District or Taluka Board. I would empower the Village Boards to fix the hours of attendance to suit the cultivators, to limit the time to two hours in busy seasons, to allow long vacations in reaping and sowing seasons, in order to make the schools suited in every way to the ways and needs of cultivators and labourers. The Education Department with its high ideals and cast-iron rules would be horrified at the very sight of such rustic institutions. But if rural bodies are to manage their own primary schools, the control of the Education Department over the management must be carefully shut out.

"A portion of the Local Cesses paid by each village should be allotted to that village for local public works. The sum will be small, perhaps a hundred rupees a year for an average village, but it will suffice to keep the village roads in order, and occasionally to cleanse a tank or a well. Special grants from District Boards for construction of new village works should also be made to the Village Boards, not to contractors. No plan or estimate should be called for, no sanction should be required, the Public Works Department should be barred out. A simple account, signed by all the members of the Village Board, should be kept ; and Revenue Officers, inspecting a village, would be able to judge if the money has been well spent.

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By way of giving some concrete instances how such a system might actually work, Mr. Dutt has left for us the following interesting account of the revival of village self-government in the Premier Native State of Baroda.

"The first step taken was by Mr. Elliot, the Bombay civilian appointed to do land revenue settlement in Baroda, who found the village services still in existence and in working order and with a wisdom and foresight which deserve recognition, he decided to perpetuate these services. His Highness the present Gaekwar, then a young man, thoroughly sympathised with the object, and permitted Mr. Elliot to make allotments out of the land revenue demand of each village for the permanent maintenance of the village services."

The second step was taken by Mr. Dutt himself on the following lines :

"Five years ago, His Highness the Gaekwar entrusted me with the duty of introducing Local Self-Government in this State. The first question was to form electorates for the election of members of Taluka Boards. In Bengal and elsewhere, some property or other qualification has been prescribed for voters ; but in Baroda the good work done by Mr. Elliot before me made my work easy. I reorganised the Village Boards, embracing all villages in my scheme *without any selection* ; and groups of these Village Boards were formed into electorates. Fifteen or sixteen Village Boards were grouped to form an electorate, and returned one member. The method was simple : it was understood and appreciated by the people ; it gave Village Boards a status and position ; and it avoided the necessity of collecting large numbers of ignorant cultivators at polling booths,—to their own astonishment, and to the amusement of sight-seers."

"The third step was to entrust these Village Boards with such public works as were legitimately their own. The proceeds of the Local Cess, after some deductions, were distributed to District Boards, and these in their turn distributed the money to the Taluka Boards under them. On an average, each Taluka received ten thousand rupees for public works, and this sum was distributed to those villages where public works, and generally drinking water wells, were most needed. As a rule, the money allotted was given to the Village Boards and they executed the works with a degree of efficiency and economy which surpassed all expectations. Large sums were added to the Local Cess by Government, in a year of water famine, for the construction of wells ; and the Gaekwar

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signalised the jubilee of his accession to power by a generous gift of five lacs of rupees for the construction of wells. Virtually all these sums were distributed to Village Boards ; the people felt they were getting more than an adequate return for the cess they paid ; and there was no room for complaint or criticism when they did their own work. I cannot help thinking that much public criticism in this country would disappear if the people were more largely entrusted with their own concerns.

" Nevertheless, allotments of money for such public works could only be made to a small number of villages in a year ; the rest of the Village Boards sat with their hands folded, expecting their turn to come.....Of ten thousand rupees a year for public works, only ten or fifteen villages could be served in a year, the others had to wait. The credit is due to another officer of the Bombay Civil Service for remedying this state of things, and providing all Village Boards with some funds every year. Mr. Seddon, whose services have been lent to the Baroda Government for settlement and other work, took this fourth step for the development of village institutions, and proposed an annual allotment to every village. The Council of Baroda decided that, after deducting a portion of the total income for the expenditure of the District and Taluka Boards and for large works, the rest should be distributed among Village Boards, for their petty village works, in proportion to the cess they paid..... Thus in Baroda the villagers will, for the first time, have it in their power to remove their own simple wants by their own efforts, year after year.

" A fifth and very important step has quite recently been taken by the Council of Baroda by entrusting deserving Village Boards with small civil and criminal powers. They are empowered to dispose of small suits (loans, etc.) up to Rs. 25, and they will punish petty offences with fines up to Rs 5. No fees are required, no records (except a Register) are to be kept, no lawyers will appear, and no appeals are permitted. The District Officer and the District Judge are vested with powers of revision in cases of grave injustice. These rules have received the sanction of His Highness the Gaekwar.

" In matters of education, Village Boards have as yet no power, as the Education Department in this State, as elsewhere, has taken over the management even of primary schools. But an Education Commission is sitting, and the question of control over primary schools is one of the most important problems for its decision. It will amuse my readers, but not surprise them, to learn that all

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District Officers, who have appeared as witnesses before the Commission, have advocated the control of Boards ; while all Education Officers have recommended the control of their own Department. The decision of the Commission is awaited with great interest."

Referring to the gain to the country and to administration from such a system, Mr. Dutt observed : " It elevates a people to do their own work, rather than have all their work done for them. It helps a Government to be in direct touch with popular bodies, rather than to deal with the people through Policemen and Tahsildars. It checks the misdoings of petty despots,—whether of the Police or the Revenue Department,—if there is an organized representative body in every village. It saves villagers from the harassment of coming to law courts for every petty dispute, and teaches them some reliance on themselves and their village elders. It trains them to work as organised bodies for village improvements, for village education, for repression of crime, and for other common objects. It gives facilities for the formation of Co-operative Credit Societies, and for combined action in all lines of progress. It teaches villagers to be men,—rather than remain eternally in the condition of children, crying to the Sarkar and the money-lender for the feeding bottle."

" Between the Village and the Provincial Governments which have been largely expanded by recent Reforms," Mr. Dutt believed, " there are many stages of administration ; and expansion is needed in these stages also. The Sub-District Board needs to be converted into a real council for the Sub-District Officer, for the purposes of administration. The District Board can be, and should be a real administrative body to help the District Officer. Irrigation, Drainage, Water Supply, Relief, Repression of Crime, Settlements, Liquor Shops, Industries, Trades, Technical Education, Pasture Lands, Forest Rules, Timber and Fuel, New Crops, Water-rates, Feeder-lines, and a hundred other subjects are the concerns of the District people and can best be administered by the District Officer with their help and co-operation. The system of one-man rule fails to meet the increasing requirements of civilized administration. To associate the people in the work of administration in all stages, from the Village to the Province, makes them feel that *the government is their own*, and secures their help both in effecting progress and in repressing crime. And to place them face to face with responsible work, is the best method of silencing reckless criticism and enlisting active co-operation."

IMPERIAL POLICY IN NATIVE STATES

The November number of the *Standard Magazine* avails of the recent pronouncements of Lord Minto in the State banquets of the various Native States to discuss the *Imperial Policy in Native States*. The writer illustrates this policy by alluding to (1) the Queen's Proclamation promising to respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as 'Our own' ; (2) King Edward's re-iteration of the same principle in his recent Message to the peoples and Princes of India ; (3) Lord Morley's statement that the Native States of India should be given a free hand to develop and grow according to their own ideas and that there should be as little interference or control as possible on the part of the Suzerain Power ; and to (4) Lord Minto's declaration in course of his recent tour in the Native States that the Imperial Policy is "with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the internal affairs of Native States." This, the writer thinks, is quite in consonance with the just demand of the Native States voiced so boldly and explicitly by the Gaekwar of Baroda in the following words in welcoming the Viceroy in his State : "in all matters of internal administration every Native State, in proportion as it enjoys liberty of action, grows in efficiency in securing the welfare of its subjects and, therefore, in promoting general progress.....Any curtailment of freedom in internal affairs lessens our sense of responsibility and weakens our power for effecting improvement." Though the sovereigns and rulers of India have framed their policy in relation to Native States in accordance with the requirements so tersely stated by the Gaekwar, the writer points none too soon to the "practical difficulties arising from its application, according to the personal interpretation of political agents on the one hand and its acceptance on the part of the States on the other." Our contemporary does not consider it safe to follow a policy of non-intervention in cases of all States and thinks it wise to use discrimination in this matter when necessary, and proceeds to observe : "In all ill-developed States mere principles themselves produce no real good. Non-interference in regard to such States would only keep them in a state of semi-barbarism. If the British authorities take a sympathetic interest in their affairs, the progress of the States would be accelerated." "In the case of the more advanced States," the writer rightly thinks, "Lord Minto's policy of leaving everything to the Durbars would be more conducive to their welfare." The writer voices the sense of the educated Native Chiefs when he remarks that the interference,

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whenever used, "instead of benefiting the States, has proved detrimental to them and innumerable instances might be brought to prove this." "What the people actually complain," goes on the writer, "is not an excess of just interference for the good of the States themselves, but the aggrandisement of the British Power at the expense of the States." And to illustrate this view of the matter, he cites the example of Mysore, "which gave representative powers to its people in 1881,—years before the British Government had thought of similar reforms," where, the writer asserts, "almost all the unpopular measures.....have their origin in the undue interference or utter supineness of the British Power and the people beyond the States can have no idea of the bitterness which such attitude has always produced." To see that the British influence is used always for the good of the State the writer suggests that "greater light should be thrown on the internal working of the Foreign Office, and some of the acts, whether intended for the good of the States or for the advancement of Imperial interests, should be made public." "If in the Reform Scheme now sanctioned," suggests our contemporary, "the Councils were empowered to ask questions about the relationship of the Foreign Office with the Native States, there would have been some guarantee of the Imperial policy being maintained in its correct form. But in the absence of any definite knowledge about the internal working and in the event of the Foreign Department being closely veiled against public light and popular gaze, we cannot say that the Indian public have any means of knowing how the declared policy of Lord Minto and the assurances of both Queen Victoria and King Edward are actually working."

As examples of where the healthy influence of the Government of India proves of immense benefit to the backward States, the writer points to "the scores of weak Durbaris in many Native States who have absolutely no political instinct or grit in them and who succumb to the influences of strong political officers whose every suggestion is regarded as a mandate to them." The writer, therefore, while welcoming the declaration of the policy of general non-interference by Lord Minto, cautions the Native States themselves against "many of their internal weakness and incapacity which have been and will be the greatest enemies of those States."

In the few paragraphs that follow the writer discusses this policy of non-interference enunciated by Lord Minto in its broader aspects. He thinks that the policy of non-interference framed on the recognition of the identity of interests among the *rulers* of India which

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Lord Minto alluded to is only showing a means to an end," and notes some significant omission by his Excellency. One of these omissions was very eloquently filled up by the Gaekwar in his notable address to Lord Minto :—" To secure.....loyalty there should be a community of interests between the subjects and the ruling powers. The former shoud have a proper share in the administration of the country and should feel that the Government is their own." With this goal in view and with an eye to the identity of interests not only of the rulers but also of the ruled in British as well as in Native territories, the writer hopes that the rulers, both British and Native, will all realize the influence of the new era and see that " no differentiation is made in the advantages secured to these peoples " which will be " inconsistent with the proclaimed principle of the identity of interests alike of the rulers and of the ruled," and set examples which we will welcome as "assisting us also in shaping our own models and in approaching the common goal."

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Mr. J. C. Roome discusses *The Problem for Young India* in the December number of the *Hindusthan Review*. He dwells upon the present National Movement, points out errors committed by the leaders of the movement and candidly suggests the way in which the errors may be rectified so as to ensure the best possible success to the movement. Referring to the present movement the writer observes :

"There is a feeling almost generally prevalent that all is not as it should be. It is a healthy sign that the morbid sentimentalism regarding the past has given place to a deep and earnest yearning for a brighter future.....The coming generation in India is keenly alive to the necessity for regeneration and that there is a great unrest, however ill-defined it may be, agitating the myriad peoples of this ancient land. The world has before it the spectacle of a people waking up after centuries of sleep."

The writer repudiates any exaggerated misgiving as to some recent excesses in connection with the National Movement and observes :

"There is no doubt that, in the transition period, when the old order of things is yielding place to new, the ardent sons of India, in their enthusiasm for advancement, will sometimes go to excesses, but the very mistakes that they will make will be an earnest of

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progress.....It is unnatural to expect that the Indians in their efforts to raise themselves should not commit mistakes. If they have already made some mistakes, honest mistakes, these should not be taken as proof of the incapacity of the Indians for liberal ideas. Those who think so forget the truism that human nature is akin throughout the world, and wherever there is a conscious effort towards progress, it is an indication of the strength of the people."

Mr. Roome, however, urges the reformers to avoid the extremes which lead a young people to disaster and presses home to their impressionable young countrymen the fact that "under no circumstances is violence a better method for impressing upon a people the necessity for reforms than persuasion."

The writer proceeds on to observe: "The idea that there is a conspiracy among the nations to keep down India in a low estate is false.....It is true that there are foreigners in India who would be only too pleased to see the Indians go back a few years in the path of reform, so that they may carry on their task of exploitation a little while longer, but to consider that every non-Indian is an enemy of progress is a libel on the human race. So great is the danger in India of racial prejudice establishing its dangerous sway over the masses that, unless the evil is scotched now, there is bound to be a spectacle of chaos in the future, which is beyond the wildest dreams of a tragedian."

Apart from the ill-feeling growing between Indians and Europeans, the writer further points to "the distrust and suspicion intervening the Hindus and Mussulmans and the other communities living in India itself" and Mr. Roome is surprised to find that, "inspite of the desire of the peoples of this land to improve their condition, they do not see the advantages of concerted action.....but instead, try their utmost to fan the fire of religious differences and, instead of working for the unification of the various communal forces of India for her common good, creating and emphasising those peculiarities which make for the disintegration of the people of India." We wish the writer could realize the difficulties of the Indian leaders in working for a common goal of United India in face of a Government committed to the policy of *divide et impera*. The writer, however, is none of those who preach a gospel of despair for the future of India but thinks it possible for these groups of people to unite as one people, irrespective of caste and creed and suggests :

"The prospect of success for those who work for this end is not so uncertain as some might lead one to believe. Some of the States

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of Europe present quite as heterogeneous a population as India. In the majority of instances, the people, in spite of racial similarity, are divided up as rigidly into groups as if they were living under a caste system a hundred times worse than the Indian. Where they have the advantage over the peoples of India is in their appreciation of the duties of common citizenship. In the face of a common danger, they know they must stand side by side with each other. It is then that religious differences and social distinctions are forgotten. The Indians have to learn how to work together in spite of differences of opinion on matters as far apart as religion and house-keeping. If the educational institutions in India devoted more time in impressing upon the youths the duties of citizenship, instead of burdening their minds with chaotic information of uncertain utility, the present friction between community and community in India would give place to brotherly feeling and respect for each other."

"Under the new conditions of life, there should be no Hindus or Mussalmans, no Jews or Christians, no high castes and depressed classes, as far as social, political, and moral progress is concerned, but all should work as *Indians* for the good of India.

"To bring about this consummation, something more is needed than the formation of societies or rhetorical parades. It is painfully evident at the present moment that the number of speeches delivered every week in India is out of proportion to the work done. There is need for more silent work, more restraint and perseverance."

The writer then emphasises the supreme necessity of organization and combination in industrial development. By way of the removal of all serious obstacles for the Indians to organise, combine and unite themselves for such common purposes, Mr. Roome rightly urges the elevation of the "depressed classes" and suggests :

"Education conducted on proper lines, not the coaching for examinations, will probably best serve the purpose. It will reveal to the educated classes the serious disadvantages of having millions of fellow-countrymen held in the thralldom of ignorance, even if the latter had the misfortune of coming into the world with the cruel stigma of "untouchable" indelibly impressed upon them. The raising of, literally, millions of one's fellow-beings, not to mention of the claims of the "depressed classes" as Indians, should provide young Indians with a piece of work worthy of the best efforts of man. The "untouchables," as their name implies, do not, in reality, belong to the Mahomedan or the Hindu community. Young Hindus and Mahomedans will find it easier to sink their differences in

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working for the amelioration of the condition of one of the most unfortunate groups of human beings in the world.

"By uplifting the depressed classes, they will not only restore the rights of human fellowship to a section of their people : they will strengthen their own position by having the intelligent help of fifty-three millions of their countrymen in the work of national regeneration. It is surprising that, although the problem of the education of the "untouchables" has been looked at from different points of view, sufficient stress is not laid on the point that at present the country is impoverishing itself by allowing, or rather forcing, one-fifth of its population to a life of waste and utter unconcern. With the accession of fifty three millions of intelligent men and women to its ranks, young India could perform wonders in the field of industry."

By way of suggesting the numerous other ways by which Indians of all shades of opinion could be brought together under a common reforming scheme, the writer mentions "the promulgation of sound information on all subjects amongst the agricultural classes, female education, and the up-rooting of the many abuses which now sap Indian life." The writer doubts if Swadeshism, as it is preached now-a-days, has not entirely ignored this phase of the problem. What Swadeshism can accomplish without the higher principles of life is very uncertain. It may, however, be asserted with confidence that a Swadeshism which ignores the spiritual and moral forces in the world is a mischievous cult, and the sooner it is got rid of, the better it is for all concerned."

True Swadeshism is just. It appreciates all things at their proper value. It recognises the fact that human life is many-sided, and, in order to make a success of it, it is necessary to observe the principle of correct proportions. It is a notable fact that whereas Swadeshism produces union, in other instances it has only succeeded in making the line of separation between the Hindus and Mahomedans still deeper in India.

"Without combination however," warns the writer, "no industry can ever succeed and the problem remains for young India to unite together, not only against the inroads of foreign commerce, but against disruption amongst themselves and the forces of rabid materialism and dangerous forward movements. It remains for the advance guards of New India to recognise the claims of common humanity and to work for the good of all. Thus only can they be united as one body."

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

Mr. Inayatullah Khan, the distinguished young Muslim scholar of Cambridge, has contributed an eminently interesting paper on the above subject to the November number of the *Westminster Review*. The writer begins by demurring to the charge that the Indians in England, by nature, are anxious to keep aloof from the Englishmen ; on the contrary, the Indian in England is eager "to have a better insight into a people with whom his lot has been cast." "Religion," observes Mr. Khan, "plays a very important part in the life of an Oriental. Every Eastern exhibits this "pecularity" to a greater or lesser extent. The grim idealism of Christianity is not here. Religion is more like a working rule than a code of morals fit for the shelf. And as it is easily workable, it is equally universal. It strikes its note in every phase of life. It is comfort to the rich, bread to the needy, consolation to the afflicted, mercy to the tyrant and morals to the dissolute. That is the reason why there *is* society in the Orient, but no social code—etiquette, but no conventionalities. I may go a step further, and say that it is the reason why there *is* society in the Orient, but no social evils!"

The admiration of the Indian for the English rests on a great principle, almost a lovable one. "To the Oriental, power and knowledge are essentially *divine*, and only those who are godly are worthy of these great gifts. The master and the learned in the East are treated with an obedience and a reverence altogether unknown in the West. They stand there out of the common herd, yet amongst them, as idols and gods. As a lord, his word is a law, as a learned man his word is a gospel. The more the people see of him, the more they admire him. He is always of them—accessible and kind. There is no curiosity as to who he is, only admiration for what he is. And here lies the stupidity of my Indian. The Anglo-Indian, of whom he has caught an occasional glimpse, has been thrust upon him. No one knows anything about who he is, only everything about what he is. He gives his mandates as if by a flash-signal ; he speaks as if through a telephone. The admiration of the Indian is still the same, perhaps greater, but his curiosity is increased indefinitely."

The writer then traces, in a most terse, vigorous and matter-of-fact style, the cause of the gradual change of this attitude of admiration of the Indian for the English people in the following way :

"The unfortunate black comes here with an innocent and honest curiosity, only to be himself an object of curiosity. All eyes are

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focussed on him with an acuteness, all faces accost him with a blankness connoting preconceived disdain. The mere man or woman he meets in the street, to whom he is infinitely superior morally, intellectually, as well as socially, considers him to be a zoological specimen of an extinct humanity. His very presence here seems to be obsolete and out of place. He feels as if there is not enough of God's ground for him to walk upon in this little island. The slur cast upon his person in the literature of the hour, the irrelevant language in which he is mentioned in various periodicals, the unusual conspicuousness given to his most pardonable trespasses, only tend to increase his resentment. Henceforth his propensities take a different turn altogether. He is no more the indulgent observer he was when he left India. The dark side of the Western character presents itself first to him. The Anglo-Indian he has left behind gives an additional shade of darkness to the picture. The great virtues of the British character begin to appear as commonplaces. He explains them away—by prejudice, by sentiment, and by comparison. The gloomy aspect is always in his mind, and he endeavours to enlarge upon it. The horror of the Western Crimes, the dissoluteness and moral laxity of the people, the extraordinary freedom of woman, the tendency towards agnosticism, the intense love of money, the extreme helplessness of the poor—all these stand out to him as natural consequences of a civilisation based on defective principles."

In reply to the argument that if it is only the prejudice and antipathy of the white man that causes all this unnecessary evil, it may be urged that not only the Indian, but the Negro, the Chinese, and other darker species of humanity, reciprocate the same malevolence towards the white man.

"Leaving out of account the Arab, the Persian, and the Turk, who are usually included in the white races, there is not a people in the whole of Asia or Africa who stands out so much beyond the rest in point of past greatness, tradition, chivalry and philosophy, as the high-minded India. Though an inheritor of bitter experiences to which he has been subjected, he is yet far from being so devoid of self-respect as to pocket anything which touches his personality or his honour. Johnson, "although he was for the greater part of his life smelling potatoes in the subterraneous shops of the town, would nevertheless have bought many a shilling club for Macaulay, and still coarser ones for his biographer, only if he knew how the one thought about his paper cravat and pawned coat, and the other of his clumsy figure and enormous belly."

RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES IN HINDU STATES

As for sedition, the writer firmly believes there is no such thing in India. "The principles of the British Government are far too liberal and far too just to be fairly criticised by an Indian. The disaffection, if there be any, is not against the principles themselves, but the instruments through which, and the manner in which they are applied. It is not even against the executive authorities of Great Britain. Almost all the Indians place an implicit confidence in the sincerity and good faith of these noble authorities. In fact—as I ought to have said elsewhere—for the high-principled personalities who constitute the true glory of the British Nation, the Indian has an almost idolatrous reverence and respect. The campaign is, therefore, not against the British Government, not against the British people, it is, in a word, against the Anglo-Indian. That name is a terror to the East, perhaps somewhat like that of the Turk was to the West. Hence result the various excesses usually placed under the name of sedition. Let every Anglo-Indian in India and elsewhere, as true champion of British national honour, British love of freedom, British principle of justice, make the native *feel* that national honour, that love of freedom, and that principle of equality of which he is the pioneer, and I doubt if the so-called sedition of the young Indian, the so-called disaffection against the Government, the so-called aloofness, the so-called self-sufficiency, be not stamped out of his mind at once to do justice to his own character and honour to the British Empire."

RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES IN HINDU STATES

The November number of the *Standard Magazine* opens with an article on the above heading in which the writer voices the protest of all Mysoreans, both Hindus and Mussulmans, against the passing of the proposed bill removing disabilities of religious converts to inherit their ancestral property. The bill, according to the writer, is ostensibly to "ensure perfect freedom of faith without loss of worldly advantages.....but practically it will set a premium against non-proselytising religions in favour of proselytising ones like the Christianity." The writer quotes Lord Curzon who admitted in 1900 that it was a measure "*that would, in practice, furnish a premium to proselytism and that our intervention would be not in scrupulous accordance with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858.*" The writer then advances the following arguments against the measure which we reproduce for the perusal of our readers for what they are worth.

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"There are men who renounce castes and faiths for reasons not necessarily arising from religious convictions and even in their case there should be no restraint of any kind. Their natural right is only over themselves and what they have produced. Those who renounce a particular society or association go with themselves and what they have brought with them. This is *natural* right. But when an *artificial* right is created over property or other interest not earned or produced by an individual, but secured and preserved by those whom he renounces and by means which have their basis on such religious combinations and caste co-operation which he renounces, then these cannot be called the natural and personal rights of the man. There is a confusion and mixing up of the natural rights and acquired rights over property and other interests about which the legislators have to devote some attention. If we go to the history of nations and countries and examine how castes and communities are formed, how properties are acquired, how they are preserved and secured in favour of particular individuals and by what motives, laws and objects these rights and interests are handed down from father to son, we will clearly see that neither religious nor caste interests are entirely absent from the various operations by which properties are acquired, preserved and handed down from persons to persons. In Hindu and Mahomedan societies caste and religion are not merely matters of convenience or faith, but of the whole life and activities of the men. When a man renounces his ancestral religion and caste, he renounces also all that was acquired through the association and merit of such caste or religious groups. In this country Religion and caste mean a great deal more than in European countries and the phrase in the draft Regulation : "*merely* by reason of his having renounced or being excluded from any Religion" jars upon the ears of both Hindus and Mahomedans. Religion is *everything* to these people and it is not yet a handy ornamentation that can be put off or put on at one's convenience or ease. We, Indians, may yet come to that stage, but till we reach that pinnacle of perfection, it seems only fair that a legislation that affects millions of people, should treat religions and castes according to popular understanding."

ARTICLES

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO NATAL

The report of the Natal Indian Immigration Commission is a document which would be remarkable for what it reveals if it were not even more remarkable for what it conceals. The Commission itself consisted of seven members, of whom, I believe, at least four were large planters, one was a pronounced anti-Asiatic, and another the leader of the labour party, which is hostile to the competition of Indian labour or trade in any shape or form. There was no representative of the Indian community on the Commission, and accordingly there was no possibility of a minority report that would have given something of the Indian point of view. The great influence of the Indian Immigration Trust Board, which controls indentured labour in Natal, was demonstrated in an unmistakable manner by the following letter addressed to the members of the Board by its secretary whilst the Commission was sitting : "It is highly important that you appear before the Commission to give evidence on the matter of Indian immigration. Those who are opposed to Indian immigration have shewn themselves very active in bringing their views before the Commission and it is very desirable that all those who have any interest in the continuation of Indian immigration should bring their views before the Commission. The secretary of the Commission will be pleased to hear from you and will arrange a time for you to come before the Commission." Whilst quite naturally the secretary of the Commission repudiated the suggestion thrown out in the above remarkable document, it is plain that though the Commission sat in camera, and so far as I am aware names of witnesses were not divulged, information as to what was transpiring at the Commission's meetings had in some way leaked out. From these facts it will be clear that the Commission's proceedings were at least open to criticism and that their conclusions are not necessarily reliable. The Commission objects to the description of indentured labour as being servile. It is stated that the contracts of the Indians are entered into voluntarily and after full explanation and as the contract imposes certain obligations upon the employer, the fulfilment of which the servant has the right to demand at law, the term servile does not apply. We are further told, by way of proof, that the Indians themselves do not

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consider it servile, as shewn, for instance, by the fact that, in 1908, out of 7,735 Indians coming out of their indenture, 3304 preferred to re-indenture rather than return to India, and of those who returned to India free of charge large numbers re-emigrate to Natal under the same conditions. Later on we are reminded that the system is described as servile not by the labourers themselves but by those who do not come under the operation of the labour laws. What then is indenture? Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature entered into, not under the common law of the country, but under a statute specially devised to meet the case. The labourer never knows to what employer he is to be allotted, being required to enter into the contract in India and to consent to allotment to any employer that the Protector in Natal may choose. Between the master and the servant under such a law there can be no human relation save such as may be often observed between an owner and his cattle. And as a matter of fact the Indian labourer is often regarded by his employer as of less account than a good beast, for the latter costs money to replace, whereas the former is comparatively a cheap commodity. The system, too, is unfair in its incidence for the balance of advantage in the contract of service lies always with the employer and never with the employee. So long, however, as breach of contract on the part of the labourer is always, and on that of the employer seldom, regarded as a criminal and not a civil matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any light other than that of a system perilously approaching one of servile conditions. So far as the employee is concerned, his difficulties commence before he leaves India. In his innocence he believes all the alluring tales of a South African El Dorado told him by fluent recruiting agents whose income varies with the number of victims secured, the labourer is usually extremely ignorant and is often either a ne'er-do-well of either sex or is deeply sunk in poverty, is without work and accordingly faced with starvation. He has little or no means of discovering the exaggerations of these tales, some of which bear the counter-signature of the Natal emigration agents and the official appointed by the Government of India for the protection of intending emigrants. For instance, emigrants are informed on official authority that they will have in Natal good houses to live in and plenty of garden-land to cultivate for their own use. And yet not long back, Mr. Barnett, the late Superintendent of Education in Natal, who had to travel all over the Colony in the course of his official duties described some of these "good houses" as "piggeries," and it is extremely doubtful even if in some cases garden lands are allotted

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO NATAL

to the labourers for private cultivation whether they have sufficient leisure for the purpose. In practice it is known that beyond the plain facts of food and shelter the emigrant labourers have only the barest and haziest ideas of the highly technical and legal contract and they know nothing however of the immigration laws under whose operation they will come. What can they know of the social conditions of Natal which place them for ever among the politically disfranchised and socially ostracised. When they arrive at their new home, they encounter totally new conditions of life, over-long hours of toil, most arduous drudgery, frequent illness, climatic differences, insufficient food-supply, lack of family life, temptations to immorality, petty fines and severe punishments. This happens in a large number of cases, and it cannot possibly be admitted that where all these facts are not known to the labourers there is anything like parity of contract. No doubt the debt bonds, entered into by ignorant and helpless Pariahs in Southern India with their landlords, would also be regarded, from the point of view of the landlords, as free contracts ; but we know, however, that they bind the Pariahs in bonds of perpetual slavery. What, too, are the effects of these labour laws upon the employee ? The following supposititious case may be taken to summarise them and the manner in which very often they are carried out. An employer ill-treats a labourer ; the labourer has the technical right to complain against the employer. The man is on his way to complain when he is arrested by a Kaffir policeman, who is empowered to take him back to his employer, with what results may be better imagined than described. The Kaffir policeman receives a reward for his activity. Should the man succeed in reaching the local magistrate, a European Colonist unable to speak to an Indian except through an interpreter, he is required to satisfy the magistrate that he has a *prima facie* case against the employer. It may happen that the magistrate is a friend of the employer who is perhaps a powerful man in the district, and he may then refuse to issue the pass authorising the man to complain to the Protector and return the man under escort to the employer, the complainant having to bear the cost of such return. It is not suggested that such cases occur often, but the law as it stands makes their occurrence possible. Should the labourer from fear or ignorance fail to go first to the magistrate, but proceed direct to the Protector, that official's first demand is for the pass to make complaint, and as this is not forthcoming the unfortunate man is brought before a magistrate and convicted for breach of the law. Suppose, however, that he has

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done all that by law he is required to do and has safely arrived at the Protector's office. The Protector, having taken the man's deposition and before investigation, will order the man to return to his employer. Knowing what to expect in that quarter, and realizing that his complaint is almost certain, in these circumstances, to be attributed to causes other than the real ones, he positively refuses to return. He is then sent before the Magistrate by the Protector and is convicted and sentenced for breach of the law. Even then he is liable to be returned to his employer, and may find his complaint unredressed and his last condition worse than the first. It will thus be evident that the labourer's degree of freedom is microscopic.

Last year, 400 "free" Indians, men and women, addressed a petition containing the following (unacknowledged and unanswered) allegations, to the Natal Parliament : "At the time of their engagement for indentured service in this Colony, they were not fully acquainted with the terms of their agreement, neither were they aware of the hardships and disabilities they would have to undergo here as indentured or free Indians. Your petitioners' position while under indenture is so miserable and the necessaries of life here are so dear, that your petitioners are virtually unable either to save any sum in order to enable them to go back to their country after the expiry of their indentures, or to pay the £3 (annual) tax, should they choose to remain in this Colony after giving the best years of their lives under indenture." It should here be noted that it is usually only the most fortunate emigrants who return. I observe, however, that even these, in the last shipload of returned emigrants arriving at Madras, only show an adult average of Rs. 137, or, say 35 per cent. of possible savings after five years' work—not a very large fortune.

One magistrate declared that "his experience with the Indians was that if these indentured men had not the protection of the law (and a careful and unprejudiced perusal of the labour laws of Natal shows that, in very many cases, they have not) *their life would not be worth living*," whilst another magistrate said, in sentencing an employer charged with gross cruelty to an Indian employee that "these Indians were constantly coming to the Court either as complainants in assault cases against their employers, or as deserters on account of alleged cruelty and ill-treatment by their masters. This sort of thing must be stopped."

As to lack of proper medical treatment, I prefer to quote the Natal Protector himself. In his Report for 1907, he says—"Natur-

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ally, only the medical officers became cognisant of many matters affecting the medical treatment of the Indians under their care, and unless the cases of neglect are brought to my notice, the employers continue to be careless and the Indians suffer accordingly, and, *in my opinion the high death rate among indentured Indians working on the Coast Districts of Natal is due in no small degree to this state of affairs.* This is an elementary lesson in human nature. To carry out their duties satisfactorily, the medical officers should be absolutely independent of the employer. In view, therefore, of this unsatisfactory state of things I have asked for no reports from the Medical officers for the year." And that state of things continues to this day.

Last September, the *Natal Advertiser*, a notoriously anti-Asiatic journal, wrote as follows :—

" We do not hesitate to say that the Indian Immigration Laws, if they do not reduce indentured labour to a form of slavery, at least establish conditions far more nearly approximating to servile conditions than did those which the British Parliament and people rejected in the case of the Rand Chinese. They are inequitable and disproportionate in their incidence upon employer and employed, they convert actions on the part of the employed, which are not criminal offences, into criminal offences ; they pretend to establish a safeguard for the employee, which are not safeguards ; they are unduly restrictive of the liberty of the individual."

It is curious that, seeing the number of advantages enjoyed by the indentured labourer, the Commission has not seen fit to explain the terrible suicide-rate amongst them. Men have been known to attempt suicide outside the Magistrate's Court rather than be made to return to their employers. These cases have, of course, been hushed up and there has been only the most perfunctory enquiry. I have taken the trouble to compare the suicide rate among the indentured labourers in Natal with those of other countries and places which were available to me. The following figures indicate a startling condition of affairs :—

			Per million.
Suicide rate	all India	(1904-6)	... 37
Do.	Madras	do.	... 45
Do.	Bengal	do.	... 58
Do.	England and Wales	(1905)	... 104
Do.	European population of Johannesburg	(1906)	... 370
Do.	Paris	(Recently)	... 400
Do.	Indentured Indians in Natal	(1904-8)	... 551

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It is thus clear that the suicide-rate amongst the indentured Indians in Natal is more than twelve times higher than that of Madras and more than ten times higher than that in Bengal from the ports of which provinces they emigrate. And it is never less than fourteen times the rate for the whole of India, whilst it is at best twice and sometimes even five times as high as amongst the free Indians of the same class in Natal who have often to pay a minimum taxation to the State of Rs. 105 per annum upon an average monthly income of Rs. 15, rent in addition to this, they are obliged to provide their own food and that of those who are dependent upon them, and have medical and clothing expenses as well. Heavy punishments are inflicted for absence from roll-call, neglect of work, disobedience, gross insolence, fraud, deception, damage to the employer's property. But it is questionable whether, in regard to most of these offences, the penalties are explained to the labourers at the time of entering into the contract. Section 101 of the principal Law is perhaps the most amazing of all the amazing sections of this Act and its numerous progeny. It provides for the heavy punishment of ignorant labourers who desert in a body to go to the Protector to complain against their employer whether such complaints shall or shall not be adjudged to be groundless or frivolous and notwithstanding that such complaints may be successful. Commenting upon this provision, the *Natal Advertiser* says: "This means that even if a number of Indians carry a gross complaint against ill-treatment to the Protector and succeed in getting compensation and redress, they are liable to two months' hard labour for having dared to seek justice without first obtaining permission. This we take it is the most scandalous provision extant in any British Statute Book anywhere. What if these unfortunate wretches have to ask for permission to go to the Protector from the very man they propose to complain against? Is he at all likely to grant it and if not are they to endure on in patience? This section alone is enough to damn the whole law."

Yet being aware of these facts, the Commission does not believe that the Natal indenture system is one of virtual slavery. As proof that this labour is not servile, we are told that, on the one hand, the Indians themselves do not consider it so, whilst on the other, those who so describe the conditions are those who do not themselves come under the labour laws. It is plain that the better educated and the freer a man is, the more clearly does he perceive the nature of slavery. It was not the American slaves that always realized their own slavery, but the abolitionists in America and England who were themselves not subject to servile conditions. And we have

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been told that the freed slaves of Zanzibar strongly resented their freedom because of the loss of material comforts that it entailed, so that this argument does not carry us very far. The more degraded a man is, the less, as a rule, is he able to realize his degradation, but we learn, as evidence that the indentured labourers themselves do not consider the conditions of labour to be servile, that in 1908, out of 7,735 Indians coming out of their indentures, 3,304 preferred to be re-indentured rather than return to India, and further, of these who returned to India free of charge, large numbers re-emigrated to Natal under the same conditions. Let us examine the facts. Besides the 3,304 who re-indentured there were some 2,960 who returned to India. The Law provides that unless an ex-indentured Indian returns to India or re-indentures, if such a labourer be a male of sixteen years and upwards or a female of 13 years and upwards, an annual tax of Rs. 45 is payable to the State. Now in his last annual report the Protector of Indian Immigrants to Natal says : "Another sign of the growing difficulty of living experienced by the free Indian subject to the yearly licence is the fact that men and women re-indenture themselves and often with arrears of licences to pay. A good proportion may be expected after completing their further service of two years to avail themselves of their regained rights to a free return passage to India. But so far I incline to think that most of them re-indenture out of sheer necessity and not from any choice or from any notion of prospective rights." And he also shows us that the average savings declared by adult Indian returning to India in 1908 was Rs 127. It is plain, therefore, that the ex-indentured Indians who re-indentured did not "prefer" to do so but were driven to that course either because they had been unable to save anything and were therefore disinclined to return to India with nothing in their pockets, or, having saved a little but not sufficient, they knew that they would lose their all if they remained as free men and women by reason of the annual tax. The Protector tells us that in 1908 no less than 1,529 free Indians re-indentured mostly from sheer necessity and the whole report of the Commission teems with joyous ejaculations that the incidence of the labour laws, with their carefully devised tariff of fines and taxes, drives ex-indentured Indians back to India or compels them, together with their erstwhile free brothers and sisters, to re-indenture. Obviously, where poverty, starvation, outcastry and disinheritance unite to assist the employer against the employee there can be no parity of contract. And where there is none, it is simply juggling with words to declare that servile conditions do not exist. As a final proof, it is argued by

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the apologists for the continuation of the indentured system that many Indians re-emigrate to Natal under indenture. I have not the figures for Madras, but the report of the Calcutta Protector of Emigrants, for 1908, shows that, of 383 emigrants from that port who had been under indenture and who had re-indentured, 220 had come from Natal and of these only 47 were prepared to return to that Colony. These 47 had probably good employers and were quite prepared to re-indenture themselves to those employers. It is clear that this fact so far from supporting the case for the Commission rather arouses a spirit of enquiry as to why the remaining 173 who re-indentured preferred not to return to Natal.

The fact of the matter is, Natal does not want Indians at all but only Indian labour. If the Colony could procure that labour without the Indians it would be perfectly willing to do so. That Natal is in dire need of Indian labour is manifest from paragraphs 4-10 of the Report. Natal is moved by nothing but mercenary considerations in its use of Indian labour. That was shown clearly in the report of the recent Natal Education Commission, which declared that for the children of indentured Indians "save in the case of one or two planters only, no educational provision is made whatever and the Commission is of opinion that it should be made compulsory on the owner of any estate where there are twenty or more Indian children of indentured employees between the age of 5 to 12 to supply them with elementary education at the employers' cost.....The Commission feels bound to express its regret that while large employers derive great benefit from the services of Indians, these employers show themselves so callous in regard to the future of the children of their servants and so little alive to the future interests of the Colony on the score of a little expense." And the Immigration Commission actually recommends that the Natal Government should take immediate action to bring about an agreement with the Indian Government by which the indentures or contracts of Indians, whether first or subsequent, shall in future terminate in India or upon the high seas and that the men with their families be returned without the option of remaining in the Colony. In other words, Natal is recommended to adopt the "squeezed orange" policy. The Colony is invited to use the five best years of the labourers' lives and then to fling them aside like a broken tool. I have dealt with this aspect of the question at much greater length elsewhere.*

* "The Indians of South Africa" by H. S. L. Polak ; G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO NATAL

So long ago as 1884 this same policy was recommended for adoption, and Mr. J. R. Saunders, one of the members of the Indian Immigrants' Commission of that year, made the following declaration : "Though the Commission have made no recommendation on the subject of passing a law to force Indians back to India at the expiration of their term of service unless they renew their indentures, I wish to express my strong condemnation of any such idea and feel convinced that many who now advocate the plan, when they realise what it means, will regret it as emphatically as I do. Stop Indian immigration and face the results, but do not try to do what I can show is a great wrong. What is it but taking the best of our servants and then refusing them the enjoyment of their reward ? Forcing them back (if we could, but cannot) when their best days have been spent *for our benefit*.....Shylock-like, taking the pound of flesh, and Shylock-like we may rely on its meeting Shylock's reward. Stop Indian immigration if you will..... but force men off at the end of their term of service—this the Colony cannot do—and I urge on it not to discredit its fair name by trying." The Colony did try to discredit its fair name in 1895, but the Government of India refused to be a party to such an infamous contract, and now a further attempt is to be made to induce the Government of India to go back upon its obligations to the people of this country and to assent to what amounts to nothing short of a public iniquity. On the contrary I go further, and say that the whole of India should unite to urge upon the Indian Government the imperative and immediate need to cancel the name of Natal from the list of those territories which are authorised and enabled by this Government to recruit labourers under contracts of indenture. Natal is greedy, mercenary, and merciless, the Colony has robbed the Indian trading community of the political franchise, and an effort is now being made to take away the municipal franchise. The Immigration Law is such that it has become increasingly difficult for the resident Indian community to secure religious teachers from India. Year by year the number of Indian traders is arbitrarily reduced, and there is no guarantee but that on the 1st of January next the licence of every Indian trader in Natal will be refused. There is no appeal and the whole of the trading company is liable to sudden ruin. Indian education is being recklessly crushed out of existence or neglected. The condition of the Indian labourers is such as to produce a significantly high suicide, death, and disease rate. The "free" Indians are oppressed so severely that, on their own confession to Parliament, many have taken to

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criminal courses, families have been broken up, and women have been tempted to live lives of shame. The Report of the Commission provides evidence of this in section 25 of the Report. And when to all this is added the fact that Natal has acted the part of policeman to the Transvaal by refusing permission to land those Indians returning from India to the Transvaal who refused to comply with the anti-Asiatic legislation of that Colony, it is obvious that Natal in return deserves no mercy at the hands of the people and Government of India. It will be a lasting disgrace to India if she continues to provide labour for a country that seems to delight in the enslavement of the labourers and the reduction to ruin of their free compatriots—and I venture to hope that not all the sophistries and blandishments of the emissaries of the Natal Government, who will no doubt shortly come to this country to induce the Government of India to reverse Lord Curzon's policy, will result in anything more than a curt refusal to afford Natal any further opportunities to insult the people of India and to besmirch the British flag.

H. S. L. Polek

LEGISLATION AND LEGISLATURE IN INDIA

II

CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCILS

(1) Supreme Council

The Legislative Council of the Governor-General is an expansion of the (Executive) Council which was first instituted under the Regulating Act of 1773. At present it consists of two sections viz, (1) the members of the Executive Council who are called the ordinary members and (2) the extraordinary and additional members of the Council. The Executive Council in whom was originally vested both the Legislative and Executive functions as well as judicial powers as the highest court of appeal has an interesting history of fluctuating numbers. The Regulating Act fixed the number of Councillors at four besides the Governor-General who was the President. All matters were transacted by a majority of votes. By Pitt's India Act the number of Councillors was cut down to three, the Commander-in-chief of the Company's forces in India being one of them. All matters were as before to be decided by a majority, the Governor-General having a casting vote in case of equality of votes. By an amendment of this Act in 1786 the

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Governor-General was empowered to override the majority in special cases.

The Commander-in-chief ceased to be an ordinary member of the Council in 1793. Under the Charter Act of that year the government of the presidency of Bengal and the "superintendence and controul" of the minor presidencies was vested in the Governor-General and three Councillors and the Commander-in-chief was not to be a member of the Council unless "specially authorised for the purpose by the Court of Directors." So that under this law the number of members was three, while if the Commander-in-chief happened to be other than the Governor-General himself and he was specially authorised, the number would be four. But in such a case the Commander-in-chief became an extra-ordinary and not an ordinary member.

By the Charter Act of 1833 a fourth ordinary member appointed by the Crown was added to the Council, for legislative purposes only. The function of this member, commonly known as the Law Member was, in the words of Sir Barnes Peacock, "confined entirely to the subject of legislation. He had no power to sit or vote except at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations." The first member appointed was, as is well known, Thomas Babington Macaulay.

In 1853 the status of the fourth ordinary member was made similar to that of the other ordinary members and he was now entitled to sit and vote at all meetings like other ordinary members. It was not till 1869 however that, as a result of a minute by Sir Henry Maine, a separate portfolio was carved out for him out of the Home Department.

The Charter Act of 1853 also provided for additional members for legislative purposes, consisting of the Chief Justice of Bengal, a Puisne Judge and four representative (official) members from the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the North-Western Provinces. This was the nucleus of the new Legislative Council under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. The Council now began to consist of the two sections of which it consists up to the present day. The Executive Council was further strengthened under the Act of 1861 by the addition of a fifth member and it was provided that three of the members must have been in the Government of India for at least ten years and one of the members must be a barrister or a member of the faculty of Advocates of Scotland. The chief changes which have been made in the constitution of the Executive Council since that date have been that Queen Victoria was empower-

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ed to appoint a member of the Council for public works purposes in 1874,* a power which has since been made general in 1904.† The internal management of the business of the Government of India has undergone important changes which do not concern us here. As we have seen, additional members for legislative purposes were first added to the Council in 1853 but the members were all officials. It was in 1861 under the Indian Councils Act that non-official members were first introduced into the Council. That Act made provision for additional members for legislative purposes, not less than six and not more than twelve in number of which not less than one half was to be non-officials. These members were to be nominated by the Governor-General and to hold their office for two years. Power was retained to appoint the Commander-in-chief an extraordinary member and the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, in which the Council might assemble to be an additional member.

This constitution continued till 1892 when the most important alteration made in it was the qualified recognition of the elective principle in the constitution of the Council. Under the Indian Councils Act of that year the number of additional members was increased to not less than ten and not more than sixteen, not less than half to be non-officials as before. But the most important change was heralded by the provision in the Act which empowered the Governor-General in Council to frame regulations with the approval of the Secretary of State under which the nominations were to be made. These regulations provided that the members were to be nominated on the recommendation of the majority of the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The powers of the Supreme Legislative Council as it was first formed were confined in its legislative as well as general administrative functions to Bengal and exercised only an undefined authority over the foreign relations of the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. While thus this Council was to all intents a provincial Legislative Council for Bengal, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay had no legislative powers.

Pitt's Act which reconstituted the Councils provided that like the Supreme Council the Councils of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to consist of three members besides the Governor. But though the Act thus defined the constitution of the Provincial Councils it did not give them any legislative powers. By the Act

* 37 & 38 Vict c 91.

† 4 Edw. VII c 26.

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of 1807* legislative powers were first given to the Councils at Madras and Bombay and by this Act they were authorised to exercise with reference to their own provinces just the same legislative powers as were exercised by the Council of Bengal with reference to the presidency of Bengal. Madras had even before this been granted the same legislative powers in 1860.† In 1813 the legislative powers of the Councils were further extended.

The legislative power of these provincial councils were however taken away by the Charter Act of 1833 which vested the sole legislative authority in the Governor-General in Council and the Governors of Madras and Bombay had now authority only to forward drafts of new laws to the Governor-General in Council.

The Governments of Madras and Bombay resented this legislative supremacy given to the Council of Bengal and it was not possible for a single Council to legislate with due reference to special local needs. The provision for representative members for the provinces did not succeed in meeting their demands and in 1859 Lord Canning in a despatch recommended the creation of Legislative Councils at Madras and Bombay. The result was the restoration of the legislative authority to Madras and Bombay with some important changes under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. Like the supreme Council these two Councils were to have additional members for legislative purposes; they were to include the Advocate-General and "other persons not less than four and not more than eight in numbers not less than half of whom should be non-officials." The Legislative Council of Bengal had a more chequered career. In theory as well as in practice the Council of the Governor-General was a provincial legislative Council. But the presidency of Bengal had grown very much since the passing of the Regulating Act. Benares had been added in 1776, Orissa in 1805 and large territories in the North West had been added to it in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The Charter Act of 1853 provided for the creation of two separate Presidencies by breaking up the Presidency of Bengal into those of Fort William and Agra. The idea was that a Governor with a Council was to be appointed for the Presidency of Agra while the Governor-General was for the present to continue to be the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William. For the convenience of business however the Governor-General was authorised

* 46 Geo III Sess 2 c 68

† 39 and 40 Geo III c 79 s 11

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to appoint one of the members of his Council a Deputy Governor "as often as the exigencies of public service may appear to him to require." The provision for the presidencies of Agra and Bengal were never carried out. It was suspended by statute in 1835 and indefinitely suspended by the Charter Act of 1853. But the power to appoint a Deputy Governor for Bengal was frequently exercised by the Governor-General whenever he happened to be absent from the province. The Act of 1853 authorised the Governor General in Council to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for the North-Western provinces and to define the limits of his jurisdiction. The Charter Act of 1853 suspended the provision of the Act of 1833 relating to the creation of separate presidencies but authorised the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors for both the North-Western Provinces and Bengal.

Under this power Lieutenant-Governors were appointed in Bengal and North-Western Provinces in 1854.*

Lord Canning in his despatch of 1859 recommended the creation of Legislative Councils for all the four provinces of Bengal, Bombay Madras and the North-Western Provinces. Accordingly the Act of 1861, while establishing Councils in Madras and Bombay empowered the Governor-General to extend the operation of the sections of the act relating to legislative councils in Madras and Bombay and Bengal and at his discretion to extend those provisions to the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. The Act also authorised the creation of new provinces for legislative purposes and to appoint Lieutenant-Governors. In accordance with this provision and under the directions of Sir Charles Wood's despatch forwarding the Act, the Bengal Legislative Council was brought into existence in 1862. It was not till 1882 however that a council was created for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. No other legislative council was created before the further amendment of the law in 1892. This Act enlarged the number of the members of the provincial Councils and authorised the Governor-General in Council to frame regulations under which the members were to be nominated. Under those regulations some of these members were to be nominated on the recommendation of Municipalities and District Boards of the provinces as well as some on the recommendation of the city corporations, universities and chambers of commerce.

It is to be observed that in connection with the Provincial Councils as with the supreme Council the principle of election was

* Mr. Halliday was the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and Mr. Colvin that of the North-Western Provinces.

recognised by these regulations for the purpose of making a recommendation to the Government, which had final authority in nomination. The so-called 'elected' members, therefore, were members 'recommended' by certain electorates and 'appointed' by Government.

Under the powers conferred on him by the Act of 1861 the Governor-General created Legislative Councils for the Punjab in 1897, in Burma in 1902, and in Eastern Bengal in 1906.

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

THE INDIAN BEGGAR

II

Another variety is the *Divining Beggar*. He also appeals to the sense of the mysterious in man to ply his craft. He blows a pipe, beats a drum, or jingles a bell and launches forth into a minute enumeration of events,—past, present and future. Nothing is hidden from his piercing gaze ; the recondite past as well as the most remote future must yield up their secrets to him. He is an expert hand in reading others' fates though he is known to blunder egregiously in his own case. His wife grumbles that her first-born fell a victim to his propensity of prediction ; for she adds, had he called in a physician to treat the suffering lad laying aside his prophetic proclivities her boy would certainly have recovered and grown into full manhood and lived to this day. But alas ! she utters, with an half-suppressed moan, that was not to be. The divining father was so cocksure about his lad's recovery, that he was actually thinking how he should celebrate the happy event, when to his intense sorrow and chagrin the fatal summons came. He justifies himself for this one mistake of his life by saying "good Homer sometimes nods." From this let not my readers infer that the diviner is a stupid animal. No, he has a plentiful supply of common sense and knows the trick of his trade, only sometimes he forgets that it is a trick merely and takes to it seriously. He knows full well that divination to pay must confine itself to the sunny side of life. One man hankers after money ; bless him with one or two lakhs in one or two years. Another pines for progeny ; tell him that his good wife will in a few years bless his bed with children, male and female, and gladden his heart. Another feels distracted on the fate of a big civil suit in which he is most interested ; adjudge the palm of victory to him then and there. Nothing like flattery by event to soothe man's vanity, ambition, avarice or whatever it be. It is more powerful than flattery by word and its influence more insidious.

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Sometimes the diviner works himself up to a fury and imprecates the most terrific disaster, only to be cancelled in the next breath by a suggested artifice which will not fail in bringing some profit to himself. But this he does only very rarely. In the great majority of cases he has an inveterate tendency to predict blessings and nothing but blessings. Hence he is a *persona grata* wherever he goes and with whomsoever he deals. He is very much sought after, it is said, on account of the reliableness of his predictions, but really, I suppose, for the kindly things he promises his customers.

The *Secular Beggars* form also a large genus comprising many species. All those who come under this numerous group qualify themselves by training in the exercise of some art or other and seek to give a recompense for the money they get. The *juggler beggar* comes out prominently in this class. His bag is crammed to the full with many a curious thing. There is a doll dressed in red rags called *kurali* and also a companion doll to serve as *kurali's* mate. The most striking feature with these dolls is their hideously protruding teeth. The pair of the *kurali* is constantly used by the juggler in his performance to divert the attention of the spectators to some other channel for a brief while. Along with the *kurali* he exhibits some bones of the human skeleton—generally the Humerous and the Ulna which he must have dug out of some burial place or some fox or other night-prowlers in his stead. He has with him heads of lizards, of birds, snakes, of frogs and other animals. Some of these he utilizes for his feats; and some he keeps simply to enhance the mysterious dread regarding himself with the poor village folks. He has also nuts of various trees, leaves of various plants, vessels of various make, preparations of various sorts treasured up for occasional use. In addition, he has a brazen figure to vomit forth water during his juggling *seances*. All the *impedimenta* in his possession together with the bag are shrouded underneath a thick black woolen blanket which serves as his curtain behind which his magical transformations are made to take place. He is a master of sleight of hand and is always quick in the performance of his wonderful tricks. He expects a handsome remuneration for his troubles and does not hesitate to give a direct hint to that effect. In the extempore narration of his former performances, which he improvises for the occasion, he gives a string of the names of those who have munificently rewarded him and also another list containing stinging satirical references to others who have disappointed him. He would refer to these latter in quite uncomplimentary terms such as : 'that never-giving curmudgeon,' 'that sinner who

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starves his children' and 'that miser who would not give a rag of cloth to his married wife.' These are privileged utterances which none dare questioning and very few will feel inclined to question because of the boisterous humour in which the juggler conveys the pungent rebukes. He would, sometimes, take the most tattered cloth in his possession, with a thousand holes in it and with as many stitches, and exhibit it to the gaze of the spectators with an ejaculation : ' This is the latest present I had the honour of securing from the golden hands of that great millionaire, that incarnation of charity, that type of generosity, that Prince among the Patron of beggars, so and so....."

The *Gymnastic Beggar*, who hails next, also rests his title upon his trained skill and address but of a different order. He places his little boy or girl rounded into a ball in a tray and places it before you. His somersaults are varied and succeed one another with lightning rapidity. Like Ravan of the Puranas measuring his Titanic strength with mount Kailas on his shoulders, he would bear the heaviest loads. Weights which would have crushed an ordinary man into jelly would sit lightly as a feather on the brobdingnagian shoulders of this modern Hercules. Nay, he would lift them with his teeth, a feat which would not leave a solitary tooth in the mouth of any other man who would attempt it. In addition to giving the most convincing proofs of his Samson strength, he would also exhibit a delicacy of swordsmanship or marksmanship which a Saladdin or a William Tell would find difficult to rival. He would walk on ropes stretched at about a fifty feet from the ground, with a single stick in his hand to regulate his balance by. Seldom does he go on a tour of collection, without his troupe of trained players accompanying him. Looking at the whole, one is led to conclude that this art has not now so much following as in former times. There are, of course, plenty of pretenders in the field. A knot of lazy vagrants may take a fancy to follow this calling and seek to supplement what they lack in skill by what they have in audacity. If one of them carries one or two men perched on his shoulders, like the Old Man of the Sea in the *Arabian Nights*; if one breaks in twain a cocoanut placed on the crown of another's head with a heavy baton ; or cuts a sheet of paper with a sharp sword ; if one stands on his head with his legs high up in the air and his hands securely resting on the ground, these are in their opinion feats passing the capacity of ordinary mortals to perform. The most ignorant shepherd-boy might beat them in their so-called "feats" but is restrained by the consciousness that he should not enter into a

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competition with a company of strolling gymnastic beggars. However inept they be, yet they manage in a way to eke out their livelihood ; for in a country like India they could do so even without any of their exhibitions.

When a man has neither the capacity to perform feats of jugglery nor the perseverance to train his body, he takes to training animals for performing sundry feats—elephants, lions, tigers, horses, dogs, goats, monkeys, snakes, &c. These are taught to move to his baton's order. Poor brutes ! They do not know how they are feeding their master, instead of he feeding them. In truth, they are his masters and he their most dependent slave, for if they could conspire together to get up a “strike”—and who knows that they would not do so as the century advances—and thus refuse to do his bidding, he would be forced to wind up his business in sheer desperation.

The Musical Beggars next greet us with their heart-melting strains. “ All the many sounds of nature

Borrow sweetnes from his singing.”

Weighted down with corroding cares, the spirit of man yet tries to soar heavenwards on the ethereal wings of music and seeks to forget for however short a time its hard earthly lot. Surely the social distinctions which have grown up between man and man seem to melt away at the touch of the magic wand, music. One variety of this pleasing group we have already described. The peculiarity of this class is that they always seek to pay for your money more than your money-worth of music. They do not stint in their treat, they are generally lavish. For how is it possible for one to sing a glorious piece piece-meal ? Would it not be like mutilating the splendid creation of a sculptor's chisel or confining yourself in a room instead of taking in the beauty of a noble pile of architectural art as a whole ? A musician, like a moving train, will take time to come to a stop ; his momentum should spend itself out before signalling him to stop. You will have generally good musicians—vocalists and instrumentalists who will fill your ears with ravishing melodies. Occasionally you will have bawlers also and other human cousins of the braying class to tear your *membrana tympani* with their jarring infernal notes. Nor can you ever hope to get rid of this discordant crew. When shambers abound in other walks of beggary, why not one might reasonably ask in this ? There is however another way in which this unmusical set serve the art of music. A knowledge of a thing, we are assured by the Psychologist, consists not only in knowing what it is but also in apprehending what it is not. *Per genus et differentium* is the principle. Now a complete

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knowledge of music is not possible without understanding what is not music under the genus sound. So these bawlers too, in a way, might justify their existence and ply their trade with pride if not for the cause of man at least for the cause of science.

A very interesting group is that of the *Poetical Beggars*. They are not so much poets as bards of ancient days whose words had a prophetic value and whose numbers are thinning day by day. Many of them still labour under the impression that if they sing a stanza containing a malediction technically known as *Aram* against a person who has in any way insulted them, the predictions of the poet would realize themselves with absolute certainty. Accordingly they observe in a self-complacent frame of mind that they take the greatest amount of care not to fall into an angry mood, lest they should imprecate one of those terrific courses which would not fail of their effect even though the sun and the moon should forget to course the heavens ! Not being learned, or even literate, many of them, to keep up their character, get up by rote a few stanzas from ancient and modern authors and thus garner in their mental store-house many a literary curio. These they repeat on all possible occasions with mutilations sufficiently gross to make the spirits of the departed poets turn in their graves. They would sometimes blurt forth a jumble of sounds, wherein it would be difficult to catch even an echo of the original and to decipher whose meaning another Kamban should come into existance ; for it is written that the reputed author of the Tamil Ramayana once with great ingenuity cudgelled sense out of the inconsequent ravings of a boor beginning with *Kanna Pinna Kama Soma &c.*, and got him presents from the great King Chola. Worse than these parrot-poets, who have at least the merit of reciting some poems or verses, is that numerous class of *hereditary poets*, who delight in the name of poets but are curiously enough ignorant of the very alphabet of their mother-tongue. No wonder they are ignorant, for they solemnly declare they have not seen the inside of a school-house—a presentment of the case which at any rate is highly damaging to their parents' sense or capacity. Readers may be curious to know then how these ignoramuses got the title of poets. It is sufficient for them if their grandfather or great grandfather had been a poet in his days. They argue analogically that 'title,' like the property and other assets of the deceased, should descend to his lineal heirs. They do not mind how inappropriate the title would be to them, who have still their alphabet to master ! Why ? in many cases they assume the title with a vengeance. The simple unqualified name of a 'poet' would not satisfy their vanity.

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They would go by such names as "sweet poet," "the elephant among poets," "the ocean of poetry," "the gem among poets," &c. It is not very difficult to see that these appellations have been assumed on the principle of *a lucis non lucendo*. It is just because they have not the least poetical talent, or for that matter any literary talent whatever, they seem to have been dubbed "poets." A few even of these illiterate poets know to repeat one or two long-winded stanzas to all persons and on all occasions. They may, if necessary, insert in appropriate places, the names of those whom they think of eulogising in return for his bounty. Fulsome flattery, adulation of the abject type, is the weapon constantly wielded by them; and they have invariably found their reward. "Men are but children of a larger growth;" and flattery is as sweet and soothing to many a mature ear as a sugar plum to a child!

I shall take leave of the reader for the present and request meanwhile his indulgence for this too meagre and hasty a sketch.

M. S. Sivarejan

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2



" . . . Faithless man," she cried, and in another instant she made for the emperor with a naked dagger glistening in the moon-light over her head."

—*The Light that Failed.*

OCCASIONAL STORY

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

"Could it be," exclaimed Zubeida, "that beauty like this was meant to drudge for any rustic youth who might fancy me for a bride?" And she looked wistfully into the metal mirror in her hand as she smoothed down the slight unevennesses of her dress. "If it is," thought she, "there is no justice in God's world, for I am sure there are not many beauties like me in the harem of the Padshah of Hindustan."

The young woman who in her half childish mood was giving herself away to these exclamations was the daughter of a merchant in an obscure village in Turkestan. Her father had seen better days and at one time had carried on a prosperous trade with Hindustan. But ruin had come upon him, and in his old age he was left to scrape together a living out of his scanty resources in his obscure native village in Turkestan. Zubeida had therefore to drudge for her old father, to draw his water and cook his food, and it seemed she must drag on her monotonous life like this till a villager took a fancy to marrying her.

But Zubeida's heart was of quite another sort. The girl was seated in her little hut as she buried herself in these thoughts. She could not forgive herself for being born to the humble station she was in, and she was burning at the thought that her father's days of glory had been gone and that she was thus confined within the limits of a narrow hum-drum destiny, evidently for ever. Her proud heart was miserable, as she was unable to find that loop-hole in the prison-walls of her destiny through which she might glide into the region of bliss and magnificence that, she doubted not, was hers by right.

"Oh! that I had a charm, an Aladin's lamp that would do everything that I should desire!" she exclaimed at last.

As if in response to her desire, there appeared at her door a dervish who blessed her and begged for alms. Zubeida started up. She brought out something to give to the dervish and then said to him eagerly, "Dervish, could you give me anything which would fulfil my desire?"

The dervish smiled. "You are ambitious," said he, "be not too ambitious. I will give you an amulet which you have only to press to your bosom and whisper your wishes to it; and one wish of your

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life, no matter how great, it will fulfil." So saying he brought a copper amulet out of his scrip and gave it to Zubeida.

Zubeida was transported with joy. The doubt never crossed her mind why the dervish should part with such a treasure if it was all that it professed to be. She gazed intently at the amulet,—it seemed so poor a thing to be capable of such great achievements,—yet she had the perfectest confidence. She began to grope about her mind for the one desire which would satisfy her for ever, and instantly her mind struck upon a thought which had been the dream of her girlhood as she listened spell-bound to her father's stories of the riches of the Great Moghul. She pressed the amulet to her breast and whispered, "I will be the Empress of Hindustan."

* * * * *

Her father's spirit of adventure flowed full in Zubeida's blood. She was confident that she would be the Empress of Hindustan if only she could put herself in the way. From her very childhood when she listened with rapt attention to the stories of her father's adventures, of the Kings and Emperors he had seen and of the great glory and wealth of the Emperor of Hindustan, her glowing imagination had built up pictures of overflowing magnificence far beyond the actual wealth of "Ormus and of Ind." From that imagination she could not tear herself away, and there was no picture of splendour that she built up within herself, of which she did not fancy herself the most prominent figure.

Add to this she had a full sense of her personal charms, which were of a very superior order—a kind of beauty you rarely set your eyes upon. To the open aggressive beauty of a Tartar girl was added in her, the ineffable charm of a modest look from eyes that were half covered with velvet lids with a fine long jet black trimming. Those eyes could cast a wistful look and when they did so they were sure to conquer. With a consciousness of such charms she naturally felt more than usually proud, and thought it essential in the eternal justice of things that beauty like hers should be in the harem of Emperors. She therefore chafed under the life of drudgery she was condemned to lead and longed for the paradise of magnificence that her imagination had built for her and for which, she convinced herself, she could not but be destined. She therefore stole away from her house at night and on her father's great Arab house, the aged relic of his prouder days, she rode away dressed in male attire, bound for Hindustan.

II

In the Chandney Chowk, the great central market and thorough-

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

fare of Delhi, stood the slave mart. Here merchants came to vend their human wares and the hall where the slaves were bought and sold was full of bustle and noise.

Prince Muazzim was riding along this great thoroughfare with his bodyguards when the slave market was in full swing. Out of curiosity the Prince looked that way and in an instant all men and women on that side stood up and almost prostrated themselves in salute. There was one notable exception however. In the corridor of the slave mart, a young woman dressed up in a rich costume did not move but peered through her veil with the most limpid pair of eyes. Presently she threw back her veil and disclosed the fairest face that Muazzim had ever set his eyes upon. Muazzim gazed at her sweet, curious face. The merchant who had brought her to the market noticed this and, walking up to her, poked her with his toe and bade her to stand up and salute. That sort of treatment brought tears to her eyes and the girl, as she rose up and saluted Muazzim, wept. The Prince's heart was melted by the tears from such a beautiful pair of eyes. The swelling lips and reddening cheeks cast an added charm on her face and Muazzim seemed to feel within himself that she was not born a woman of mean quality or station.

He therefore rode up to the merchant and commanded him to send that slave to his quarters.

"What price would you have for her?" asked the prince.

"To your Highness she would be a present! Your slave cannot think of setting a price on her." The shrewd merchant knew however that presents to the emperor or the princes always brought at least double their value to the giver. While thus he humoured the prince, he knew that he had bagged a good game and that the slave would fetch him thrice the price that he had bargained for.

Muazzim left, highly pleased; and immediately the slave was sent to the harem where she awaited the pleasure of the Prince.

In the evening, the prince came to the Rung Mehal and commanded the new "*Bandi*" to be brought to his presence. The little woman was shaking every limb when she made her low obeisance to the Prince. It seemed as if she would burst to tears. Muazzim left his seat and walked up to her. Then, to the amazement of all present, he took her by the hand and walked away along the corridor to the chambers of his imperial mother. He knew that of all the women in the harem his mother was kindest to her slaves.

He found the Empress engaged in worship in her prayer room

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before a little image of the god that the Rajput woman continued to worship even in the harem of Aurangzeb. The Empress was seated in silence before the god, while a Hindu priest performed the worship. Muazzim stopped outside the temple and said, "Mother, I have brought you a present."

"What is it my boy," enquired the mother.

Muazzim introduced the new slave and said, "I trust you will keep my present with care, mother."

The mother looked at the girl and then at her son, and after a moment's pause said, "Yes, let her wait and I will find out what I can do with her."

Muazzim blushed before the significant look of the Empress and took a hurried adieu, leaving the slave behind him.

"What is your name, my girl?" asked the Empress tenderly.

"Zubeida," meekly answered the girl.

III

At the time with which our narrative is concerned Aurungzeb had a very anxious time of it on the imperial throne of Delhi. He had grown old, and the increasing cares of an ill-organised empire were bearing heavily on him. The troubles in the Deccan were gathering and Aurungzeb had no alternative but to march against Shivaji in person. It was on an evening about this time when Aurungzeb was to depart for his fatal expedition to Deccan that Zubeida was seated before her dim lamp in a scantily furnished cell in the Bandi Mehal.

Her face was beaming, she was evidently lost in pleasing thoughts.

"My amulet!" She whispered as she pressed the little metal piece to her breast. "How shall I thank you! When I fell into the hands of the robbers and was sold by them to the slave merchants I little knew that you had laid this in store for me. I was foolish and wept over my ill-luck. But you had not erred." "Many a slave," she thought, "have risen high in the Rung Mehal; it would be my fault if I do not become the Empress of Hindustan, now that I have been placed in the harem of the Shahzada." And she cast a wistful look at her little mirror, adjusted a few straying locks of silken hair and smiled.

It was midnight. The sound of revelry in the Rung Mehal had not died out but the Bandi Mehal was vacant and still.

The door of Zubeida's cell was lightly pushed open and Muazzim stepped in on tiptoe while Zubeida was lost in admiration of her own beauty. The prince threw away the cloak in which he had

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muffled himself and nimbly stepped behind Zubeida. A slight tinkle of the prince's ring, striking against the hilt of his dagger, startled Zubeida and she turned round.

They both smiled and Zubeida coyly hung down her head.

"Are you happy in your new position, Zubeida," inquired the prince.

Zubeida answered in the most heavenly tone, "I have often told you my prince, I am happy. How could I be otherwise?" and she cast a killing look at her lover. And then in a still softer voice she said, "you are so kind to me!"

"Could you not say, I love you," said the prince, "you are cruel, Zubeida, to talk of my kindness. You know you have not got from me a hundredth part of what you deserve."

"What could you give me, prince," said Zubeida in the most engaging manner, "that would be more highly prized than"—she paused and blushed, and then continued "than what you have given me."

Muazzim understood and was charmed. The blushing face of that pretty young girl was a tempting bait. Muazzim did not resist the temptation; but, clasping her in a deep embrace, imprinted a hearty kiss on her rosy cheek. Oh! the first kiss! Zubeida's every limb danced with supreme delight while she was imprisoned in the prince's arms. Next moment she tore herself away from the prince and in a fury of rage said, "For shame, prince, I am your slave, poor indeed, but not worthy of this treatment from you." And she wept.

Muazzim was a little surprised at her conduct. "But what is wrong, Zubeida," asked the puzzled young man. "Is there anything wrong in a lover embracing his most beloved woman?"

Tears choked Zubeida's voice. She looked the very image of outraged virtue as she sobbed out, "I am your slave, you have power to do what you choose with me. I little thought that you would take advantage of your position to despoil me of my virtue. I am poor now, but I have not always been so. I come from a family which prides itself on its unsullied virtue."

"But I love you, Zubeida," stammered the half-irritated prince, "and you have often told me that you love me."

"It was folly, folly, Shahazada," blurted out the damsel, "I was foolish not to see what all this meant. Your love could never be virtuous love. I can only be the minister to your pleasure, and not the sharer of your life!" and she gave herself up to a flood of tears.

Muazzim now half realised what she was driving at, but with

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that weeping image of outraged virtue before him he could not stand back and cry halt. He paused for one moment to think and answered, "I see what you mean, Zubeida. You prize the crown that is to be mine more than my love."

Zubeida was startled ; next moment she composed herself and with her eyes raised to heaven she answered : "Heaven knows, I don't. But Shahzada, why love a poor woman like me ? The kindness that you have shown to me will always remain a cherished memory. I will never forget that by you I was first treated as a human being ; you reclaimed me from hell and built up a heaven for me. That memory is pleasant enough to pass a life with. Do not soil it by mixing up your kindness with guilty love. As it is, I will ever cherish your thought with the deepest love, but my idol would be broken if you come down to the depths of sin."

Muazzim knit his brow and stood still. Then he said slowly, "Zubeida, you are a young girl and new to the Rung Mehal. You don't know what marriage means to us. My father above every body else is jealous of his family connections. It would be madness in me to think of marrying you ; for the moment the idea is talked about you are sure to be hanged or poisoned and I too to be turned out of the palace into the wide world. A prince has no freedom to choose as his heart directs. My zenana has already been furnished with two wives whom I don't want, but I may not take for wife the only girl I care for. It would be all very different however if I can manage to mount the throne. The prince is a slave, but the Emperor is free to do whatever he chooses. Zubeida, I give you the word of a Prince that I will marry you the moment I am the Emperor. Till then let us be happy, let us love each other."

Zubeida kneeled down on the floor and piteously implored, "forgive me, prince, forgive a proud slave. But I cannot sell my virtue." And she wept.

"Very well, Zubeida," said the prince after a pause, "I will marry you now, but remember, its disclosure would be a matter of life and death to you and of death in life to me."

He then abruptly left the room with very mixed feelings. He half felt that he was being victimised by the artful Tartar girl, but he could not resist her charms. He must have her, no matter by what means. At midnight next day, therefore, the marriage of Muazzim with Zubeida was solemnised with all necessary formalities of Moslem law in the strictest privacy, everybody present being pledged to the utmost secrecy.

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Foolish Zubeida ! she little knew that to Princes and Emperors these marriages meant very little !

IV

One evening after Muazzim had left the capital with Aurungzebe in an Imperial expedition, prince Azam was amusing himself in his chambers in the Rung Mehal when his ear caught the strains of a Tartar song being chanted in delicious strains from the Bandi Mehal. Gradually the pitch rose and the charming voice and the winning melody got into Azam's heart and he listened with rapt attention.

The prince was a connoisseur of music and the superior charms of the song so far enraptured him that everything else in the Rung Mehal was lost to him.

"Who is that?" enquired he when the echoes of the song melted into the air.

A eunuch instantly set out to enquire. On reaching the range of cells set apart for the female slaves, the eunuch soon ascertained the identity of the charming musician. He approached Zubeida most unofficially and, laying his hands on her shoulder, spoke to her: "Bless thy lot, *Bandi*, thy song"—

Zubeida dashed away his hand and fired away in a fury. "How dare you, base menial? Get thee gone if thou wouldest not have me spit on thy hated face."

Enayet, the chief eunuch of Shahzada Azam, was well nigh upset at the cheek of the slave girl who could speak in that strain to a man of his position. He checked himself however and more gently said, "You have a fine face, young woman, and a delicious voice, but little will that avail you if you make me your enemy. I don't want to hurt you, rather let us be friends. I came to tell you that Shahzada has been charmed with your song and has commanded you to his presence."

"My thousand obeisances to the Shahzada," answered Zubeida, "but tell him I am attached to the Empress and cannot attend on him without Her Majesty's permission."

"La!" said the astonished slave, "you don't know perhaps what this invitation means. If you have the brains in you this may lead you by easy stages on to the throne. Don't be a fool, you know it is absurd to think of the Empress giving the permission."

"My salutations to the Shahzada," replied Zubeida, "I do not venture to go to him without my royal mistress's permission."

Enayet glared in wonder. Within the last thirty years of his service in the Rung Mehal he had never come across such a wilful

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or a foolish girl. "You have thrown away your chances of a life-time," he growled as he turned his back on Zubeida.

"But I have kept my virtue", retorted Zubeida with an arch smile.

"Ah! is that your game," said Enayet turning round, "then you bring a new commodity into the Bandi Mehal."

"Let me see if I can't carry it with me out of it," whispered she.

Enayet eyed her from head to foot. She struck him as a more curious woman than ever. Then he left.

When Azam heard all about Zubeida from Enayet, he felt more anxious than ever to have a talk with this strange proud girl with a sharp tongue and, if possible, to humble her pride by making her his own.

So he went to the Bandi Mehal himself when the place was quiet and dark, accompanied by Enayet, and introduced himself into Zubeida's room.

Zubeida prostrated herself to the floor in making obeisance. "What service does your Highness command to your humble slave?" she politely enquired.

"Nothing," said the prince, "make yourself quite easy, my good girl. I have heard everything from Enayet. I have come to know myself if you really spurn my love."

"Don't shame your slave so, my lord," said Zubeida. "I am unworthy of jest. I am too contemptible to deserve your Highness's attention."

"It seems on the other hand that you don't consider the heart of the heir to Hindustan worth acquiring," said Azam.

"If virtue be its price, your Highness," replied Zubeida with a smiling salute.

"Don't you care to share the throne of Delhi with me?" asked the Prince.

"Not if virtue be its price" again submitted Zubeida with a bow accompanied by one of her most killing looks.

"Do you know that you may die to-morrow if you incur my displeasure?"

"That would not be a worse misfortune than your displeasure itself."

"Then how dare you rouse my displeasure?"

"I cannot conceive," said Zubeida, "that the great and noble Shahazada, the embodiment of all virtue, can get angry with a simple rustic girl for her trying to keep her chastity."

Azam felt he was conquered. He left off brow-beating. The

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intrepid bearing of the proud and charming girl had roused his sincere admiration as her song had bewitched his soul. He tried another tune to soften the woman's heart.

"But Zubeida," said the Prince, "I have been charmed by your song, your eyes have made me a prisoner to their lustre, do but have pity on me,—believe me, I love you."

"I am proud to know it," said Zubeida, "and this thought will lighten the burdens of my joyless life," she continued with a broken voice. "Prince, a slave girl can have no higher fortune than this." She covered her eyes with her skirt.

The prince advanced one step and holding her hand in his, looked full in her weeping face with all its charms. "Then Zubeida", asked he, "will you be mine," and fixed his expectant eyes on her blood-red lips.

Zubeida threw herself on her knees like a consummate actress, and said with tears in her eyes : "Forgive me, prince, forgive the pride of a lowly slave, I cannot throw away my virtue even for your love. I fancy I see the anger of Heaven break in torrents of vengeance over me if I should fall from the path of virtue. That may be a false fear, but it has been long nursed in my breast and has made it its home. I cannot venture—though my heart would—to refuse,"—and she broke away into sobs.

Azam paused for one moment ; for one moment his eye-brows were knit. But impulsive youth, he had broken open the flood-gates of his emotion and he could not resist its onrush.

"I will marry you, Zubeida," he broke out at last, in that supreme disregard of the responsibility of marriage that the court morality of the day had taught him. "Tell me, would you be mine?"

Zubeida wiped away her tears and calmly said, "Shahazada, you do not know what you say. Your marriage with me spells your ruin and I will never allow you to risk everything for the sake of a wretched slave. Heir to the throne of Delhi, cast but one glance at the great world before you, throw yourself into it, forget your petty infatuation for an insignificant woman and the choicest glories of life would be yours. Don't think of sacrificing all that for me. I will never allow you."

Azam smiled. "You are yet a child, Zubeida," said he. "Our marriage will be a secret between ourselves, till I ascend the throne. Now I will take no refusal, I must marry you this very night." And he left the room to make the necessary arrangements. He had come to conquer but he went away thoroughly vanquished.

When Azam had left, Zubeida's face was beaming with joy.

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She knelt down before her mirror and smiled as she looked into it. She then pressed the amulet to her breast and said, "Blessed dervish ! blessed amulet ! I owe it all to you. How nicely you have been clearing the way before me ! How through every adversity you are steering my fortune on to the pole-star of my ambition ! There was one loophole in the entire scheme of my fortune and that has been filled up. Azam or Muazzim, one must needs be the Emperor. Kambaksh of course does not count.—In any case I would be the Empress !" and she kissed the little amulet in her ecstacy.

That same night she was married to Azam with the same secrecy that had attended her wedding with Muazzim. It was of course understood that none of the parties present was to breathe out a word of the affair on pain of death.

V

While Zubeida was racking her brains to the utmost to devise some way out of the entanglement in which she might be placed when Azam and Muazzim both came back to reside in Delhi, as they soon must, fortune saved her from the difficulty. For Aurungzeb never returned from his Deccan expedition, nor did Muazzim come till shortly before his father's death. When he came, the two brothers immediately found themselves engrossed in fighting each other for other things than Zubeida. Eventually Azam was defeated and killed in battle, and Muazzim led back his victorious army to Delhi.

Among the crowds of women that rushed to hail Muazzim back to the Rung Mehal, the foremost was Zubeida, dressed from top to toe in the best fineries that she could borrow or steal. She pushed and elbowed her way to the front to have a look at her royal lover and to be seen by him in all her glory. She posted herself just beside the gate so as to attract the most prominent attention.

When the Emperor entered, everybody made his obeisance and cried out her welcome in the most profuse terms. The loudest among them was the voice of Zubeida. That day of her triumph had thoroughly unnerved her and, it is to be feared, she greatly over-did herself. Muazzim walked in, smiling and bowing gracefully now to the right and now to the left. As he passed Zubeida he smiled again. That smile was somehow not the thing that Zubeida was expecting,—it was not the sort of pleasant smile that would cheer her up. It went into her heart like a dagger and made a deep gash there. Zubeida's nerves were thoroughly upset and she felt herself tottering. Somehow she managed to crawl to her cell and there yielded herself to a flood of tears. She tried to console herself,

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to feel that it was only a part of Muazzam's plan of work but the surging grief of her heart would not be assuaged. That meaning look and that cutting smile had pulled down the entire fabric of her hope and crushed her heart under its weight. She wept and wept and knew no end to her anxiety.

But the strongest grief will yield to the allurements of hope and Zubeida atlast convinced herself that her old lover would again come to her and fulfil the promise he had made. She hoped,—though her guilty heart whispered to her how she had broken the holy promise of her marriage with Muazzim by her intrigue and second marriage with Azam.

Two days passed and yet the Emperor did not seem to think of her. On the third day Muazzim was formally installed on the throne and held his durbar. The name of Emperor Bahadur Shah was proclaimed to the populace that had gathered in the ample yard in front of the Dewan-i-am. Khutbeh was read in his name in the Jumma Masjid and with his name was joined not Zubeida's name but that of another as the Empress of Hindusthan. Zubeida had taken heart so far as to go and witness all the ceremonies that took place ; and when all the Rung Mehal assembled to do obeisance to the new Empress, Zubeida was also there and made her humble salute. Then she retired to her cell in the Bandi Mehal, pressed the amulet to her breast and wept bitterly.

A whole week passed away in a wild hubbub of merriment and of engrossing official functions consequent to a new monarch's assumption of sovereignty and all these days Bahadur Shah had evidently not time to think of any thing else but imperial politics. On the eighth day Zubeida began to hope again that the Emperor would send for her. She pressed the amulet to her breast and lay still on her bed alternately on the tip-toe of expectation and in the depths of despair. But the expected summons never came and she heard to her agony that the Emperor had left for Agra and the Empress was to follow at night. Zubeida's Tartar instincts rose in her and she left her bed. By entreaties with her kind mistress she obtained permission to accompany the new Empress on her holiday tour to Agra that she might see the glories of the Palace and the Taj.

VI

The shades of evening were falling fast on the imperial palace of Agra when Zubeida jumped up from her bed in which she had passed the day. She then made a laborious toilette and marched away in all her glory through the dark alleys of the Bandi Mehal,

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across the Anguri Bagh, and along the many winding ways of the palace of Agra till she arrived at the entrance to the Emperor's own chambers in the Summum Burz. There she slipped a purse into the hands of one of the female warders and begged her to submit to His Majesty that she awaited his pleasure there. She was soon summoned to his presence.

It was a full moon night and the moon showered her glory on the rippling Jumna and on the Taj, the monument of love that shone in all its chaste white beauty at a distance. The moon had also shot her beams into the shining marbles and inlaid jewels of the Jasmine Tower, the daintiest and richest structure in the entire palace. There on a rich *kinkab* bed, reclining on a pillow in which shone a thousand gems set in gold, lay the Emperor smoking luxuriously out of his *hookah* and enjoying the pleasant breeze of the Jumna.

Zubeida bowed as she took each step to the august presence ; and when she had come near enough, she threw back her veil and looked straight in the Emperor's face.

"What is your business, *Bandi*," calmly asked the Emperor.

Poor Zubeida shivered from head to foot when addressed, so contemptuously, but she soon composed herself and said, "Your slave has come to remind your Majesty of her existence and to await your commands."

"I understand," answered the Emperor. Then he summoned a *bandi* who was in attendance and ordered her to communicate his command to her mistress that this slave-girl should be promoted and placed on the personal staff of the Empress.

Zubeida's eyes shot fire as she listened to these words of the Emperor and her right hand sought her breast under her cloak. "Faithless man," she cried, and in another instant she made a rush for the emperor with a naked dagger glistening in the moonlight over her head. Before she had taken two steps, however, she was caught by some men and maids of the Emperor's personal staff. When she was well secured in their arms, Bahadur Shah rose from his bed, advanced towards her and with mock courtesy said, "You forget, madam, that I am Muazzim and not your later husband, Azam."

If any thing was wanting to add to the agony of her grief it was this final cut. She had evidently been sold away ;—her dead secret had been betrayed. She did not know that the Moulvie who had officiated at her marriage with Azam was the same that had united her to Muazzim. She stood stupefied for one moment and at the

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next by one strong jerk released her right hand which she instantly buried under the clothes in her breast. From there she pulled out her fatal charm which had made her the Emperor's wife, though not the Empress. She spat on it, threw it to the ground and was trampling on it frantically when she was forcibly carried away by the men.

History recoils from the story of her punishment. It was the most brutal and humiliating that the ingenuity of those barbarous days could devise.

Kutub Minar

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

MORE DEFECTS OF THE COUNCIL REGULATIONS

In our last number we discussed rather academically the many defects of the Regulations which have brought into operation the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This month we are in a position to discuss the Rules in the light of accomplished facts. The elections of members for all the provincial legislatures have nearly been finished and those for the Imperial Council will soon be over. The public has now before them the names of the members who have been elected, the nature of their qualifications, their right to speak as representative men, and the practical difficulties which have been experienced by most of them in their electioneering campaign.

We shall begin with the Bengal Council. The Chamber of Commerce, as representing the interest of the great mercantile and commercial community in Bengal, have, under the new Regulations, been empowered to send up two members to the Bengal Council. In their great anxiety to leave no details unsettled, the framers of the Regulations have laid down that these elections shall be made, not by the Chamber of Commerce in meeting assembled, but by its Executive Committee. It so happens that this Executive Committee consists only of nine members, and these nine gentlemen have the exclusive privilege of electing two members for the Bengal Legislative Council. These nine gentlemen, therefore, monopolise between themselves nearly 8 per cent. of the entire representation of the province of Bengal, while the entire bulk of members belonging to that body and consisting of nearly two hundred members have absolutely no share in this representation. The happy nine are left by the Regulations as dictators of the entire situation. How nice !

We now come to the other elections. The Corporation and the University of Calcutta have been given direct representation to the Council as 'popular' institutions. Instead of being representative and popular institutions in the accepted sense of the term, the one is almost wholly an official institution and the other consists of twenty-five nominated and twenty-five elected members. The official fellows of the University and the nominated city fathers have, between them, the practical control of the elections of these two institutions. Then again, while the fellows of the Calcutta University and the members of the

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Corporation of Calcutta have each a personal vote, the members of the District Boards and the Municipalities do not enjoy this privilege under the new regulations. They can not vote directly for any candidate and have only to appoint a delegate who, agreeably to the wishes of his electors or not, can record his vote in favour of any candidate he chooses. What a fine situation ! The members themselves have no vote nor will their joint instructions be of any value in the decision about their representation. The delegates elected will, therefore, have the entire election at their disposal and they can distribute their votes according to their own individual wishes. The whole representation of the Muffusil District Boards and Municipalities hang therefore not upon the joint wishes of these corporate bodies but upon individual likes and dislikes. That is how the Government has reduced the representation of the so-called popular bodies which, under the new regulations, are believed to be the special electorates for the middle classes. If the District Boards and the Municipalities are thought good enough to appoint delegates to elect their representatives in the Council, what risk or danger would there be in giving them a direct vote ? Considering the demoralization that has taken place all throughout the country and the fact that a very large number of influential landholders have come forward to contest these so-called popular seats besides their special ones, who is there so bold as to say that none of these delegates will part with his votes for consideration or to please the powers that be ? The *Statesman* rightly points out that an indirect election is a 'dangerous' business, and the smaller the number of delegates who are empowered to return a member 'the greater is the risk.' In this respect the rules under the old Act were much more liberal and fair. The delegates under the old rules came with direct mandate from their constituencies and had not the entire disposal of them at their sweet will. Now the whole system has been changed, and changed much for the worse.

There is another word to be said regarding Muffasil representation. In many parts of the country the framers of the Regulations have exercised their discretion in fixing popular electorates. While in some of the Municipalities in the advanced divisions of Eastern Bengal and in the Kumaon division in the United Provinces, a very progressive part of Hindusthan, representation has been fixed only by rotation, the three divisions of Behar have been treated on equal terms with such progressive centres of activity as the Burdwan and the Presidency divisions. Impartiality indeed !

Now, as to Eastern Bengal. There the District Boards,—and who

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does not know the constitution of these bodies at the present day? —have been made permanent electorates. But the Municipalities, which are certainly much the more popular bodies, have been deprived of that privilege and have been granted the right to elect their members not at every term but by turns only. Human philosophy can hardly gauge the wisdom of such a beautiful arrangement. What is there in the particular climate or the atmosphere of Eastern Bengal that the District Boards should be considered more deserving of continued representation than the unhappy Municipalities? And yet there are people who will say that the Reform Regulations have been framed only with a view to conciliate the educated middle classes.

The result of the elections in Eastern Bengal clearly indicate that the Legislative Council of that Province was never intended to be either a representative or a popular body. About half a dozen of Hindus thrown into a Council of 42 members will absolutely have no chance of safe-guarding the interests of a community which are already in a hopeless minority in that province. The same might be said about the Punjab elections.

That is the situation created by the Regulations in both parts of Bengal and in the Punjab. The regulation directing the Madras District Boards and Municipalities to restrict their choice of members from among their own bodies have naturally caused as much resentment as a similar rule originally made for this part of Bengal but subsequently modified. Though the framers of the Regulations exempted Eastern Bengal, Bombay, United Provinces from such a provision, the elections have not turned out uniformly happy in all these provinces.

The elections in the Imperial Council are not yet complete and there are reasons to believe that the popular forces will find very inadequate representation in the newly constituted "Imperial Parliament of India." The Mahomedans and the Landlords will be there in full strength by right of special privileges, and it is feared that even many of the electorates which the Government of India believe to be popular will be captured by pushing candidates from the same classes. If the popular element be deficient in the local Councils, how can any one expect a large body of independent men being elected by these bodies as their representatives in the Imperial Council? Already there has become a possibility of the newly constituted Bengal Council electing two members to the Imperial Council not from the intellectual proletariat but from among the territorial magnates of the Province.

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As for a central idea in the regulations or an uniform scheme, excepting of course the question of special electorates, one looks into them in vain. Between direct and indirect vote, personal and impersonal vote, class representation and wholesale disenfranchisement, the Regulations wallow through all sorts of depths and shallows of Asiatic life, blow hot and cold, and give with the one hand and take away with the other at the same time. Even the provincial satraps are not in a mood to give the Regulations a trial on a uniform standard. In illustration of this, one has only to consider the generous withdrawal of a disqualification by Sir Edward Baker and the insistence for the letter of the law made by Sir Sydenham Clarke.

There is another important matter to be considered in this connection. It was fondly hoped that, during what has been euphemistically described as the new regime, the official element would keep itself in the background and do everything in its power to help the cause of reform. We are, therefore, surprised to find that Sir George Clarke has taken up an aggressive attitude in going against the reforming spirit of the regulations and exercising his prerogative in disqualifying Mr. N. C. Kelkar for election without any adequate justification. We object to such interference on principle, believing at the same time that a great injustice has been done to Mr. Kelkar personally. Mr. Kelkar is one of the most estimable men going in the Deccan, and to brand him as an 'undesirable' is the height of gubernatorial folly and political short-sightedness. The spirit underlying the nominations of Sir George Hewett, Sir Lewis Dane and even of Sir Edward Baker distinctly point out that these rulers want in the Councils not representative men, who have failed to get themselves elected to the Councils or have been precluded from contesting any seats by virtue of the numerous clauses of disqualifications which give the Regulations a most reactionary character, but only titled noodles and vote-recording *ap-ka-wastes*. We are bound to characterise these nominations as militating against the very principle of popular representation so anxiously sought for by Lord Morley.

We cannot do better than quote below the very sensible observations made by the *Empire* on this point :—

"The somewhat unsatisfactory tendency of the elections increases the responsibility of the Government with regard to its nominations. With a few brilliant exceptions the newly elected Indian members cannot possibly be described as men of any great ability or independence, and their contributions to debates are unlikely to

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"contain any element of assistance to the Government. It is all the more desirable that the Government should counteract this tendency by exercising its right of nomination in such a manner as to bring live men on to the Councils. What it wants is men who are neither disloyal nor sycophantic—and strange as it may seem there are such men in Bengal to-day. Of course, the difficulty is for the Government to find them. As loyalists, they don't advertise themselves by carping criticism, and as independent men they keep aloof from officialdom because they don't seek favours and object to being patronised. These, nevertheless, will make the safest councillors and the staunchest friends. If the authorities don't feel inclined to go about like Diogenes with his candle looking for a man of this stamp, they can at least do one thing. They can avoid nominating men whom they know to be self-interested and insincere. It would be better to waive the right of nomination than to deliberately place a premium upon such conduct."

Again, we find in the elections not more than one name connected with journalism. This reflects discredit both upon the electorates as well as upon the Regulations. If tea and jute may have special representation, is the fourth estate so insignificant a factor in the formation of public opinion that its representation in the Council Chambers is not considered worth having? Should it not be well for every provincial ruler to nominate a journalist in his local Council to assist and watch the progress of legislation? The journalist will have nothing to gain by going into the Council, but the Government stands a good chance of gaining a good deal.

In our criticism of the Regulations last month we gave expression to our sense of deep disappointment at the special treatment of particular communities and the general acceptance of principles of doubtful wisdom. We pointed out that the Regulations were neither generous nor fair, nor would they tend to promote the general amity between the two principal communities in India. Last month we discussed these principles and the attitude of the Government in a spirit of hesitancy. Today the results of the various elections in the country, and the various published lists of nominations, have confirmed us in the suspicion that the regulations under the question have opened a new chapter of Indian history which will redound neither to the glory of England nor the welfare of India.



The Late Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

Not in many days to come is India likely to recoup the loss

MR. ROMESHCHANDRA DUTT caused by the death of Mr. Romeshchandra Dutt.

As a scholar, antiquarian, economist, historian, translator, story-teller, romancer, publicist or pamphleteer, he was not a first rate man and not even a good second class ; but as a combination of all these he was a most unique personality in the India of today. That a member of the Civil Service should do all his departmental work efficiently and retire on pension is a good life's work in all conscience ; but that he should in addition to official works, attention to red-tape, and tours of inspection, make time to dive into the historical and classical literature of India, to translate voluminous epics into a foreign tongue and engage in political and economic controversy is a marvel of energy and application unsurpassed in the East. Such a type of worker reminds us of the unceasing activity of the West rather than of the indolence and ease of the Orient. There was nothing about him or his writings which smacked of the dull somnolence of the Asiatic world. He joined to a life of many-sided activity a spotless character, sweet reasonableness and a most suave temper.

As an economist, Mr. Dutt was not very happy with his principles. The tenacity with which he clung to the principles underlying the Permanent Settlement of Bengal showed him in the light of a good fighter and clever controversialist ; but we must say he failed to grasp, what we have maintained all along in these pages, that the Permanent Settlement, as it obtains in Bengal, involves the loss of the entire unearned increment of the soil, to the benefit neither of the State nor the people at large. We hold, therefore, as we have persistently held it for a long number of years, that no system which neither benefits the State nor the people can either be morally good or economically sound. In this connection we must say that Lord Curzon also made too much of the land revenue policy of the Government of India in his famous reply to Mr. Dutt. The truth, as in most cases, lies between these two extremes—in the Permanent Settlement of the land between the ryots and the State directly, without the intervention of a middle class. We shall not say any hard things against the landed aristocracy, for in England just now many ugly things are being said of this class by the more prominent politicians there. Our grievance in India is not that this class constitutes a most prominent section of the great body of 'the unemployed,' but that it does not spend any large part of its income towards either the improvement or the enrichment of the

THE INDIAN WORLD

soil and the betterment of the condition of its tenantry on the one hand, or towards the development of reproductive works on the other. Any money spent on private or public luxuries, in costly palaces or furniture, or for public statues or ornamental memorials is money devoted to non-productive works and is, therefore, practically so much money lost to the country. No one who has studied the economic conditions of any progressive state of today can ever stand by a class or a system which encourages expenditure on mere frivolities and personal luxuries. We very much regret that the late Mr. Romes Chandra Dutt threw in all the weight of his authority upon a forlorn and exploded economic dogma and a time-worn land revenue policy.

It is equally unfortunate that he did not study Indian history at first hand,—either as an epigraphist or an archaeologist or as a numismatic. His *History of Indian Civilization* cannot be looked for as embodying the original researches in any particular branch of Indian history, but shows the hand of a very clever and intelligent compiler. In this work Mr. Dutt brought together the results of the various historical investigations made by a most devoted band of oriental scholars. He takes all his light from this class of workers and borrows their favourite theories as often as possible. He could not even muster the courage to set some evident errors in Indian chronology right ; nor did he get above the prejudices which European writers on India share between them regarding the generalisations upon the principal events in the history of this country. He fell into the egregious mistake of describing the hymns of the Rig Veda as the poetical outburst of a semi-civilized nomadic community and giving the Kuru-Panchal war or the story of the Mahabharata an anterior date to that of the story of the *Ramayana*. Nor can any student of Indian history accept in these days his theories about the downfall of Buddhism or the sources of the various Puranas.

But it is neither for historical researches nor for economic studies that Mr. Dutt's name is likely to be carried to a distant generation of Indians. We hope we shall not be understood as saying that his historical works or economic treatises are absolutely no good. On the other hand, we consider them as most interesting and useful hand-books for ordinary students ; only a higher class of students will find them disappointing. Nor do we think that his translations of the great Indian epics into English verse, his rendering of the Rig Veda into the vernacular of Bengal and his various works of fiction and romance will have any permanent place in the literature either of England or India.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

It is only as an administrator and a statesman that Mr. Dutt's memory will long be cherished in Indian homes. His famous scheme on the separation of judicial and executive functions in India, the introduction of free primary education into the State of Baroda, the bringing of a cumbrous and complicated system of taxation into line with a progressive and up-to-date revenue policy will carry his name down to distant generations of Indians.

The scheme for the separation of the judicial and the executive functions is generally recognised as a counsel of perfection, but it was left to a native state and an Indian statesman to give effect to this great administrative reform for the first time in the history of India. What a pity that the Government of India is unable to translate into reality this counsel, upon which is based the very purity of justice and the impartial administration of law, for no better reason than want of funds. What should we think of a Government which puts forward want of money as a sufficient reason for the continued neglect of such a long-demanded reform?

As regards free primary education there is no difference of opinion between the rulers and the ruled so far as British India is concerned, but it is want of money again that stands in the way of the idea being carried through. Only in the small State of Baroda the determination of an enlightened prince and the administrative skill of a man of Mr. Dutt's position have found means and scope for the realization of this great dream. It may not bulk so largely before the public eye today,—the introduction of free education in an Indian State. But this experiment is bound to be followed in other States till the gods of Simla will find the force of public opinion too irresistible to shelve it any longer. Once free education is introduced all over India, half of our moral, social, political, and sanitary problems will get themselves solved in no time. Then will come the time to appreciate the merit of Mr. Dutt's memorable departure in that line.

On his fiscal policy at Baroda the time has not come to pronounce any definite opinion. But if the reduction of taxation, the abolition of vexatious imposts and the equalization of the incidence of taxation lead ever to prosperity and happiness, Baroda is soon destined to become an object-lesson of a growing and contented State. The future prosperity of Baroda will be the best permanent memorial of Mr. Dutt's administrative and fiscal policy. And if the contentment and prosperity of the people indicate social and political advance, Mr. Dutt's memory will be preserved in the annals of India till many centuries to come.

THE INDIAN WORLD

We have intentionally refrained from mentioning in this notice Mr. Dutt's work in connection with the Royal Commission on Decentralization in India and the administration of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Nor have we mentioned the address he delivered as the president of the sixteenth Congress held at Lucknow in 1899 or the address delivered from the presidential chair of the first Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares in 1905. They are ephemeral works and do not constitute any title to special distinction, though they unmistakably prove the wide sweep of his intellect.

We have so far discussed the public activities of the late Mr. Dutt. Amongst these may also be mentioned his services in connection with the founding of the various societies for the encouragement of indigenous literature,—particularly the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* of Calcutta. The first Mahratta Literary Conference held at Baroda in October last owed every bit of its success to the organising skill of Mr. Dutt.

We shall now close this obituary with a brief reference to his private life. Though not entirely free from philistinism and some of the ordinary vices of an I.C.S., Mr. Dutt was serene and suave, sweet and reasonable to a degree, and made no enemy in his life. He was an exceptionally cultured Indian and gifted with splendid talents and wonderful energy. He was above all instinct with patriotism and, what is best in human nature, harboured no jealousy against any contemporary workers and treated none of his compeers with disregard. The following letter written to Mr. Surendranath Banerjea about a couple of months before his death reveal the emotional side of Mr. Dutt,—a side with which the public had no opportunity of being acquainted with during his life-time. The letter also shows how far he was above jealousy and the frank way he recognised the patriotic services of Mr. Banerjea :—

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